Aśvinā In The Ṛgveda and Other Indological Essays

Prof. G. C. JHALA

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Aśvinā In The Ṛgveda and Other Indological Essays

PROF. G.C. JHALA

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DR. V. RAGHAVAN

Published by
THE G.C. JHALA MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

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Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

AŚVINĀ IN THE ṚGVEDA
AND
OTHER INDOLOGICAL ESSAYS

First Published : May 1, 1978

© VIJAY G. JHALA-1978

Rs. 120

SOLE DISTRIBUTORS
Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Limited
54, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi, 110055

PRINTED IN INDIA
By R. Monteiro at Associated Advertisers & Printers
505, Tardeo Arther Road, Bombay 400034
& Published by Dr. Ramanlal C. Shah, Chairman,
The Prof. G. C. Jhala Memorial Committee
Bombay-400032

PREFACE

Prof. G. C. Jhala, Professor of Sanskrit, at Bombay's St. Xavier's College, was a renowned research scholar. He served the cause of Sanskrit studies, teaching and research with singular devotion, dedication and distinction for a period extending over forty years. He died on January 11, 1972. This book is the result of the efforts made by some of his students, colleagues and others who spontaneously came forward to collect funds specifically for the purpose of publishing in book form the late Professor's voluminous writings on various indological subjects. Prof. Jhala's writings in his mother-tongue, Gujarati, have already been published in two separate volumes, entitled, *NĪRĀJANĀ and AKṢARĀ*. The present publication, *AŚVINĀ IN THE ṚGVEDA*, covers his writings in English. leaving only his writings in Sanskrit yet unpublished.

The students as also the scholastic fraternity had warmly received earlier Prof. Jhala's annotated editions of *Raghuvaṁśa* (cantos VI to X) and *Bhāminīvilāsa* (bunches I & IV). Likewise, his *Kālidāsa-A Study*, which first appeared in July, 1943, had also received highly appreciative notices and proved to be a good guide for all those interested in a study of Kālidāsa. His work, always richly endowed with scholarship, has an innate simplicity-qualities as rare as they are outstanding - which even a lay reader finds absorbing and interesting.

Earliest in point of time was, *AŚVINĀ IN THE ṚGVEDA*, which was submitted by Prof. Jhala as his Thesis for the M.A. degree of the University of Bombay in the early thirties. The same essay now adorns this book's title. This piece of highly original research has been looked upon by Dr. F. O. Schrader, University of Kiel, Kiel, Germany, as an "excellent contribution to Vedic research" and having "hardly anything unacceptable".

The book carries a critical introduction by Dr. V. Raghavan, the well-known Sanskrit scholar and Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University, Madras. Such a highly critical evaluation by so eminent an authority as Dr. V. Raghavan, greatly enhances the book's intrinsic value and also testifies to Prof. Jhala's rich contributions in the fields of research and scholarship.

It would be difficult to single out names in a task which, by its very nature, has to be a co-operative one. While all members of the Memorial Committee have contributed their mite to make this publication possible, some may be mentioned. Among these are, Dr. Rajendra Nanavati, Dr. Minal Vora, as also Dr. Mridula Marfatia, all Prof. Jhala's students, but for whose painstaking efforts it would have been well-nigh impossible even to collect the Professor's scattered writings on so many subjects, spread over so many years. The Committee is grateful to Rev. Fr. Esteller, S. J., a colleague of Prof. Jhala for many years at the St. Xavier's college, for his assistance and guidance in this regard. Mention may also be made of Shri B. H. Bhukhanwala, also a student of Prof. Jhala, who shouldered the responsibility of the production of the book. Shri Gopalakrishna Modi of the Gujarati Type Foundry, Bombay, deserves Committee's special thanks for competent, technical and material assistance in the highly involved and complicated compose work of the first chapter of the book. Thanks are also due to Prof. S. Nimkar, who undertook the difficult task of proof correction as also compilation of Bibliography and Fr. Gispert-Sauch, S.J., who

volunteered to prepare the Index to this volume as a labour of love and high esteem for Prof. Jhala.

The Committee is thankful to Shri Chimanlal Shah and Shri Arvind Shah of Chimanlal Paper Co. for their help in regard to the exquisite quality paper they supplied for this book which, it is felt, has considerably contributed to the book's elegance.

Prof. Jhala's close association with Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan stood the Committee in good stead inasmuch as its Press, the well-known Associated Advertisers & Printers, felt happy in being associated with this publication as its Printers. The Committee sincerely thanks the Press and specially Shri B. C. Bharucha, for their guidance, patience and care but for which the book would not have been endowed with such an exquisite get-up and the neat and clean printing despite the extreme intricacy of the compose work involved.

It is difficult, indeed, for the Committee to express adequately its gratitude to Dr. V. Raghavan for his critical introduction. Shorn of mere praise, objective, analytical and yet appreciative, generous in praise where considered due and frankly outspoken where opinions differed, this introduction easily marks itself as a 'model', befitting the work it so lovingly seeks to introduce. The introduction is a warm tribute to Prof. Jhala's scholarship and research. By dint of his integrity, honesty and discipline, Prof. Jhala has left an unforgettable mark on the intellectual and cultural life of the western part of the country in general and Bombay in particular and in that sense the present work is commemorative also of his rich contribution.

Thanks are also due to all the donors for their unstinted and sustained support to the Committee which has made it easier for the Committee to undertake so arduous a task. The Committee is also grateful to M/s. Munshiram Manoharlal, the well-known publishers of indological books, Delhi, for having undertaken to act as the Sole Distributors of this publication.

With the publication of AŚVINĀ IN THE ṚGVEDA the Committee has accomplished the main task for which it came into being. It has yet to turn its attention to the publication of Prof. Jhala's original writings in Sanskrit. Encouraged by its happy experience of the three publications till date, the Committee is hopeful of completing this last task, too, and thereby completing its *tarpaṇa* to this scholar and savant who was always held in high esteem by all those who came in contact with him - the scholastic fraternity and the laity alike. Services he has rendered in the fields of education, literature and culture through his close association with Colleges, Universities, Sanskrit Vidyapiths like the Tatvajnan Vidyapith, Thane, Sanskrit Pathshalas and such prestigious institutions as the Asiatic Society, Bombay, with which he was associated for a number of years as its Secretary, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, and Shree Bombay Jain Yuvak Sangha were truly noteworthy and would be gratefully remembered for a long time to come. The Bhavan, especially, pays an annual homage to Prof. Jhala in the shape of a Memorial Lecture on his death anniversary day, the 11th January, when a well-known scholar discourses on some aspect of Poetics. The speakers so far include Smt. Heeraben Pathak, Dr. Suresh Joshi, Shri Gulabdas Broker, Shri Sundaram, Dr. Umashanker Joshi and Dr. Harivallabh Bhayani who all have considered it an honour to be associated with these annual Jhala Memorial Lectures.

The Committee feels that the various books covering almost all the writings of Prof. Jhala would stand as lasting monuments to his remarkable achievements and would be a fitting tribute to so devoted, humble and quiet a scholar who by his outstanding contributions has lent lustre to the lore we have so proudly inherited.

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DR. RAMANLAL C. SHAH
Chairman
The G. C. Jhala Memorial Committee

INTRODUCTION

I readily responded to the request of Dr. R. C. Shah and other colleagues to associate myself with this collection of the papers of the late Prof. G. C. Jhala whose friendship I cherished. I recollect his Secretaryship of the Asiatic Society of Bombay and his arrangement of the function at which the Society's Kane Gold Medal was presented to me by the then Governor of Bombay, Sri Prakasa, and making that function coincide with the meetings in Bombay of the Sanskrit Commission.

The papers of Prof. Jhala collected here range from a Thesis to a Note. The subjects dealt with show the coverage of the scholar over the wide fields of his study in Sanskrit literature. These however represent only his papers in English. There have been other copious writings of his in his mother tongue on Sanskrit and Gujarati subjects. He had been a life-long University teacher and all this shows the all-round and significant role he played in the intellectual and academic spheres in his part of the country.

A noteworthy feature of Jhala's papers is their language and expression which distinguish them from the pedestrian character from which most research writings suffer.

The leading contribution here is his Thesis on the Nature, Function and Physical Basis of the Aśvins in the *Ṛgveda*. As an M.A. dissertation it has an organisation and presentation which show already the thorough-going scholar to be. Two of the shorter articles deal with some Roots in Grammar and Accent in Veda. His interest in Sanskrit as a living language and medium of contemporary expression is seen in another article. The largest number of papers is in general literature, poetry and drama. The longest one here is on the nativity of Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. Seven papers relate to Drama, four of these to the so-called Bhāsa-plays and their vexed problems.

The methodology of the investigation and exposition in these papers is marked by thoroughness, comprehending the pros and cons of the questions. The *Pūrvapakṣa* is fully set out. However, as the sponsors have asked me to write, not some customary compliments, but "a critical foreword or introduction," I make some observations without intending in any way to detract from the value of these papers.

Regarding Aśvins a variety of views has been expressed by scholars as to their identity or the exact physical phenomenon on which they are based. Jhala examines all the theories and confirms the generally accepted theory that they represent the morning twilight. He also points out the difficulty in understanding the name Aśvins which is later than Nāsatyau and their association with horses which also is later. But the explanation offered by him, namely that Aśvins were also the tutelary deities of horses, is far-fetched. As Macdonell says, *Aśva* here means the swiftly springing ray of light which brings on the twin deities of dawn (p. 53, *Vedic Mythology*). The Aśvins are also described as borne by the ass, and other

animals, as also different birds; these obviously signify the coming into movement of these beings at the end of night and the dawn of light.

The second long contribution here is the discussion on the place of birth of the poet and philosopher Śrīharṣa on the evidence afforded by his well-known poem the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. This kind of enquiry is one of the byways of research and is sometimes overdone by scholars who for the time being allow their local enthusiasm to override their critical judgment. That Śrīharṣa came from Bengal has been elaborately argued by some Bengali scholars, but sober scholars have dismissed the theory. In his study of this question Prof. Jhala sets forth the whole array of arguments of vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling and customs advanced in favour of Bengal and shows how these evidences are untenable as they are current elsewhere also or are sanctioned in poetics. As for his positive proposal of Gujarat as the home of Śrīharṣa, I am afraid he is as vulnerable as the Bengal advocates, and on the same grounds on which he has refuted their theory. However, the data in the poem relatable to Gujarat which he has brought together here are revealing and impressive. This paper is a distinct addition to what Handiqui and Jani had done on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*.

The largest piece of work to the credit of Prof. Jhala is the *Sundarakāṇḍa* for the Critical Edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* for the Oriental Institute, Baroda. His work here follows the principles arrived at for the edition of the earlier Kāṇḍas, the chief of which is that the Southern Recension forms the main basis. The Introduction and the Critical Notes touch upon some questions, but do not offer any solutions or raise controversies, e.g. regarding the meaning of the name 'Sundara Kāṇḍa' for Book V *vis-a-vis* the names of the other Kāṇḍas. There is one point of

Textual Criticism with reference to the two Epics which I may mention. In a story of Epic-length, there are bound to be recapitulations or repeated reports of events to more than one party. It is natural that the narrator, when recounting his experience to more than one party, does not always make the same, point to point exact, statement. There may be omission of a detail here and there or inclusion of a detail previously skipped and shift of emphasis from one incident to another. This would apply also, in general, to the *Anukramaṇī(s)* or Table of contents. Therefore the use of these two as internal checks is not an absolute or foolproof test.

There are two other papers on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In one of them, as one who had taken part in the critical edition of the Epic, Jhala shows how the *Rāmāyaṇa*-borrowals in the Nala-episode in the *Mahābhārata*, which Sukthankar had dealt with, show many readings common to the NE recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* but at the same time show many divergences from the NE and some correspondences with the N. and S. texts. In a brief Note on *Rāmāyaṇa* IV.6.4., a verse found in NE and S, but not in NW and retained in the Critical, Jhala sees in the simile *naṣṭām vedaśrutim yathā* a problem that does not exist there. While he is correct in dismissing the note on this by Mankad who edited the concerned *Kāṇḍa*, he goes out of the way and offers a baseless suggestion that there is in this simile of bringing back the lost Veda an echo of a Buddhist practice. The reference in the simile is clearly to the well known story of the Veda being stolen by the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha and taken by them to the nether world under the waters and Lord Nārāyaṇa as Hayaśīrṣa, diving, killing the demons and bringing back the Veda. In the very next line in IV.6.5, Sugrīva says further that he will bring Sītā back even if she had been taken away to

the *Rasātala*, which echoes and confirms the story alluded to as that of *Vedāpahāra* by Madhu-Kaiṭabha.

On Kālidāsa, Jhala discusses three questions. First the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* and its authorship. One would go with him when he deflates the enthusiasm and fancies of Mirashi; but at the same time, would find it difficult to go with him when he offers his own interpretation of Kṣemendra's quotation and the words with which the verse is introduced namely that it is not the great Kālidāsa but a later namesake of his who wrote the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. It is too much to say, as Jhala does, that Kṣemendra himself did not mean the great Kālidāsa. The critical comment of Kṣemendra that follows the citation, which is as important or even more so than the introductory words, refers to the *Prāgalbhya* and *Gāmbhīrya* of the poet in speaking those words to the king which, with quiet dignity, correct the king's lack of behaviour. This would befit *the* Kālidāsa, not *a* Kālidāsa. My own interpretation of this and the other quotations from this work may be seen in my *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa*.

The second Kālidāsa-topic discussed by Jhala is the relation of Kālidāsa and Vātsyāyana. He draws attention to Kaṇva's advice to Śakuntalā in *śuśrūṣasva* etc. (IV.18) which embodies the words in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-Sūtra*. He draws attention also to the differences between Vātsyāyana and Kālidāsa, e.g. Vātsyāyana's precepts being for the *Ekacāriṇī* wife and Kālidāsa's for a wife who has co-wives (*Sapatnīs*). There are two points to be borne in mind here: Firstly, a poet like Kālidāsa takes what he wants and does not give up his freedom to go his own way with that material; secondly, although Śakuntalā's lot is among *Sapatnīs* with whom Kaṇva wants her to be friendly, the Sage yet shows her the way she could attain to the high dignity of a *Gṛhiṇī* (*Yāntyevam gṛhiṇīpadam yuva-*

tayaḥ). Even one in the midst of co-wives should rise to the ideals of the blessed *Ekacāriṇī* according to Vātsyāyana, IV.2, *ekacāriṇī-vṛttam anutiṣṭhed iti Kaniṣṭhāvṛttam*, a passage which Jhala does note. This is not to say that there were not *Kāma-sūtra* texts before or other than Vātsyāyana's and that Kālidāsa was not conversant with them.

The third question discussed in the Kālidāsa papers is the poet's date. The B.C. view that he puts forth on the basis of the *Meghadūta* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is held by several Indian scholars. But it is a little too much when Jhala tries to see in Kālidāsa's words *purāṇa* and *nava* in the well-known verse in the Prologue to the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* a reference to the theme of plays relating to an *ancient Purāṇic* personality contrasted with a new contemporary historical figure.

Jhala has a comparatively long essay on Bhavabhūti. In the preliminary clearing of the ground, he traces Bhavabhūti's likely peregrinations and says that from Padmapura in Vidarbha he appears to have migrated to Ujjain, and identifies the Kālapriyanātha before whom the poet's *Mahāvīracarita* and *Mālatīmādhava* were produced as the Mahākāla of Ujjain. Kālapriya is masculine and not feminine and it is the name of the Sun God at the place known as Kalpi on the Yamunā and not far from Kanauj, the capital of the poet's patron King Yaśovarman.

The main effort in the paper is to explore the probable historical background of Bhavabhūti's remarks about his hostile critics. As part of this inquiry Jhala traces a series of parallels in the *Mālatīmādhava* with the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. There is no doubt that in respect of emotional exhuberance and effusive and overflowing expression, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti form twins. Echoes from Bāṇa are there in Bhavabhūti; one of them, the famous

Lāneva pratibimbiteva etc. (MM V.10) even goes to Subandhu. (See Vani Vilas Press edn. p. 80). But more palpable echoes of Kālidāsa are also to be seen in Bhavabhūti. This is one thing and it is a totally different thing to suggest that because of an obsession of his echoing Bāṇa too much, Bhavabhūti developed a sense of guilt and a fear-psychosis before his critics. And when Jhala sees in Bhavabhūti's words *Ratiramaṇa-Bāṇa-gocara-tām* (in Makaranda's speech, MM.I) a *double entendre* with the poet-banker Bāṇa from whom the dramatist draws, Jhala is really straining himself too much.

The equivocation in the words describing the *Vakulamālikā* incident, *Guṇa, Sumanas* and *Kusumeṣu Vyāpāra* cannot be said to go to Guṇādhya's Paiśācī original on the evidence of the parallel expression in Somadeva's account. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara;* it is clear that Somadeva writes under influence of Bhavabhūti.

The final depiction by Jhala of Bhavabhūti as an injured soul in philosophical resignation is also out of focus. All contemporary writers have to contend against older ones of established reputation. Some express their misgivings mildly as Kālidāsa does when he makes his first bow in the *Mālavikāgnimitra;* some like Bhavabhūti, quite in keeping with the different style of expression that they represent are more forthright and outspoken about their critics. This was so then, as now. Whether it is in the *Mālatīmādhava* or *Uttararāmacarita,* Bhavabhūti's portrait is one of strength which looks down upon the cavillers, not of weakness or meekness or injured innocence. Such indeed is the picture that would agree with one who describes himself a *Vaśya-vāk, Śabdabrahmavid* and a *Pariṇata-prajña,* one established in Advaitic wisdom imbibed from his guru Bhagavān Jñānanidhi.

To Bāṇa's amplitude already shown in the discussion on Bhavabhūti, Jhala devotes a separate paper. Homage to the abundance and richness of Bāṇa's imagination, his prismatic mind and "spectral" expression is well paid and demonstrated with many illustrations from the descriptions given by the poet. But here as elsewhere, as we have seen, there are side-sparks of Jhala's imagination, the over-proneness to see *double entendre* in all sorts of places and squeezing words and phrases. The main theme of Bāṇa's plenitude stands; although the saying *Bāṇocchiṣṭam jagat sarvam* need not be an adaptation of *Vyasocchiṣṭam jagat sarvam*, there is no doubt that Vyāsa and the *Mahābhārata* are Bāṇa's ideal. After saying all this, to say that Bāṇa uses epithets which contradict or cancel each other and that he does not build up a total image contradicts what has been said and demonstrated earlier in the essay.

As I said above, the single largest set of papers here relate to Sanskrit drama, especially to the plays ascribed to Bhāsa. Naturally this whole subject is full of problems and controversies. My own view on this question has been stated in my *Bhoja's Śṛiṅgāra-Prakāśa*. On the over-all question of these plays as works of Bhāsa, Jhala, like several others, believes in their authenticity. His papers here therefore deal with other problems, relating individually to some among these thirteen plays. He takes the correct stand when he holds the *Cārudatta* as an abridgement of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. *Karṇabhāra* as the title of one of these plays has been a problem and various interpretations of the word *Bhāra* here have been proposed, Task, Responsibility etc. An ingenious suggestion has been made by some that the words *Karṇa-bhāra* refer to the *kuṇḍalas* on the ears of Karṇa which are to be given to Indra, the incognito supplicant, and which Karṇa feels, are a burden, physical or psychological, till he gives

them away. If this by itself is not satisfactory, Jhala's effort to take the word *bhāra* as meaning "march" of Karṇa is less satisfactory. His citation of a line from Karṇa's speech in the *Pañcarātra* does not improve the acceptability of this unusual meaning. It appears reasonable to accept that the title means the difficult task or responsibility that Karṇa had taken upon himself when he got himself appointed as Commander-in-chief of the Kauravas. If this is accepted we can concede a paranomasia in the title that the *Kuṇḍalas* hanging on Karṇa's *karṇas* (ears) are also hinted at; that this suggestion is partial and does not cover the *Kavaca* does not spoil it. This is quite in keeping with the practice of the poets to give at the outset some suggestions or symbolic hint of the theme or an event of the play.

The paper on *Dūtavākya* spotlights the technique of the play which has not been sufficiently noticed so far. It is difficult to categorise the shorter plays ascribed to Bhāsa except the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* named after its Vyāyoga category. While not being a *Bhāṇa* or *Vīthī* the *Dūtavākya* uses in a large measure the technique of imaginary dialogue *Ākāśa-bhāṣita* well known in *Bhāṇas*. While in the *Bhāṇa*, the poet puts on the stage only one character or actor, the *Dūtavākya* manages through the *Ākāśabhāṣita* a considerable number of *in absentia* members of Duryodhana's side, gives up this device for Kṛṣṇa and His Discus-deity Sudarśana, both of whom appear in person, and again takes up the device for the personified forms of the other weapons of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. The play has thus on the stage not only one Duryodhana, but also three others, his Chamberlain, Kṛṣṇa and Sudarśana.

The last paper, quite a long one, in the Bhāsa series is on the problem of the *Yajñaphala*. I belong to the camp which discounts this play as a modern forgery. I am

glad that the detailed analysis of the play from all possible angles has led Jhala to confirm that view (I.XI). I however think that the time and energy so ardently devoted by scholars to this work are a fruitless sacrifice, a *niṣphala yajña*.

Equally futile, and also wholly misguided, are the papers which appear time and again on the ghost-play *Amṛdaṅganāṭaka*. To those who have a close acquaintance with ancient Indian theatre and the modern forms of the traditional theatre still surviving, there is no problem here. The expression simply means a play without the attendant drum which was an essential part of the production and this became a saying meaning 'happening of things without the required or attendant things'. Here, as elsewhere, Jhala stretches the matter too much when he prefers the Sanskrit restoration of the saying in its Prakrit form into *a-mṛd-aṅka* and interprets it as a play without the *mark* (*aṅka*) of *clay* (*mṛd*) in it. And as he does in his comparative study of the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, he takes this, as it occurs towards the close of the fourth and last Act of the *Cārudatta* (without anything corresponding to it in the longer source play) as carrying his usual *double entendre* and signifying additionally that the *Cārudatta* ends here without the "clay mark", that is without extending to the title episode of Śūdraka-play namely the little clay cart which is to appear only later. As if this is not sufficiently far-fetched Jhala adds further *double entendre* in the heroine's words *mā khalu vardhaya* and reads here a side-meaning, "don't prolong, let the play end here".

There is a paper on dramaturgy on the type of play called *Vīthī* and the occurrence of this term as part of the *Prastāvanā*. I have explained *Vīthī*, *Prahasana* and *Bhāratī Vṛtti* and their relation to the *Prastāvanā* in my papers on the Vṛttis and the name *Daśarūpaka* or the character and evolution of the ten types of play (JOR. Madras, VI, VII, 1932-33). My exposition would show how there are no contradictions nor any need to postulate, as Jhala does, two different kinds of *Vīthī* and *Prahasana*.

"Humour in Sanskrit Literature" is a refreshing outline survey and a useful contribution on an interesting subject of which there have not been many accounts. Jhala's survey here, although brief, touches all phases of Sanskrit literature, Upaniṣads, poems, plays of all types-*Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Prahasana, Bhāṇa*, prose works, fable-literature, *Cāṭus* and the theoretical texts of dramaturgy and poetics.

Lastly there is an examination of the *Kāvyaprayojanas* or the several ends and purposes of poetry as set forth by Mammaṭa and a viewing of the twin ends of joy and instruction, *Ānanda* and *Vyutpatti*, from the point of view of current theories which hold literature as something amoral and setting store by form rather than meaning.

The collection of the papers of scholars, scattered in various journals and publications, some of which may not be available or accessible, is a necessity these days when it is common to see the young scholars embarking on their study or writing without a knowledge of what has already been written on the concerned subject. I therefore end to end this Introduction with a word of commendation of the efforts of the group of colleagues and pupils of Prof. Jhala in bringing out this volume, and a word of thanks for the thought that prompted them to associate me also in their work.

Madras V. RAGHAVAN

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1 AŚVINĀ IN THE ṚGVEDA

I

The Aśvinā: Their Mind

ता विद्वांसा हवामहे वां ता नो विद्वांसा[1] मन्म वोचेतमद्य (Those two knowing ones we call upon you; may you—wise ones—announce our prayer today): the emphasis which the Ṛṣi puts, while invoking the Aśvinā, on the epithet विद्वांसा by using it twice in the same distich indicates that the intellectual accomplishments of the Aśvinā are by no means meagre. The Aśvinā are addressed as नवेदसा,[2] an epithet which probably refers, as Sāyaṇa and modern exegetes[3] take it, to the mental agility of the Aśvinā who are elsewhere said to be "of watchful mind" (बोधिन्मनसा).[4] They are very alert (सुदक्षा)[5] and can see through everything; therefore they cannot be deceived (अदाभ्या).[6] How scrupulously on the alert they are can be seen from the observation made about them that not even bounties, ever so lavish, can induce them into unconscious parting with the gifts which they carry with them, cp. दात्रं रक्षेथे अकवैरदब्धा[7] (uncheated by the bounteous, ye

1. *Ṛgveda* (RV. I.120.3.
2. Ibid. I.34.1.
3. See Grassmann, *Worterbuch*, S.V.
4. RV. V.75.5.
5. Ibid. III.58.7.
6. Ibid. V.75.7, 8.
7. Ibid. III.54.16.

guard your gifts). Try as the Dasyu would to oppose them with his माया, he cannot hope to impose upon and baffle the Aśvinā who destroyed one after the other all his magic powers.[8] Indeed, the Aśvinā are unsurpassingly dexterous, cp. अतूर्तदक्षा[9] (whose alertness cannot be crossed over).

Besides the general knowledge of the world in which they move and which they help, the Aśvinā are endowed with ancient (primordial) wisdom, cp. युवं देवा क्रतुना पूर्व्येण युक्ता[10] (ye, gods, are endowed with primordial wisdom). They possess intellectual vigour, cp. क्रतुमन्ता[11]; once they are called शतक्रतू[12] (endowed with a hundred powers). Having as they are a vigorous intellect, the Aśvinā think deeply; they are "full of thought" (पुरुमन्तू).[13] The epithets प्रचेतसा[14] and विचेतसा[15] applied to them show the depth and the soundness of their thinking. It must not, however, be assumed, because their knowledge is very profound, cp. गम्भीरचेतसा,[16] that the range of their knowledge is narrow. They know everything; they are विश्ववेदसा[17] (omniscient). This wide and profound knowledge the Aśvinā use in such an admirable way that they are compared with a wise married pair (दम्पतीव क्रतुविदा जनेषु).[18] They are therefore truly called विप्रौ,[19] more often कवी[20] (both meaning wise ones). Not only that, they are so undeniably wise that the Ṛṣi could not help making the categorical assertion युवं कवी ष्ठ[21]: (You are wise, O Aśvinā).

The strength of the will of the Aśvinā is revealed by the few but varied data on the point in the *Ṛgveda*. In दात्रं रक्षेथे अकवैरदब्धा[22] (uncheated by the bounteous, ye guard your gifts) we have an unmistakable piece

8. Ibid. I.117.3.
9. Ibid. VIII.26.1.
10. Ibid. Vālakhilyam, 9.1.
11. RV. I.183.2.
12. Ibid. I.112.23.
13. Ibid I.158.1.
14. Ibid. VIII.9.20.
15. Ibid. V.74.9.
16. Ibid. VIII.8.2.
17. Ibid. I.47.4.
18. Ibid. II.39.2.
19. Ibid. VIII.26.9.
20. Ibid. I.117.23; VIII.8.2, 5, 23; X.40.6.
21. Ibid. X.40.6.
22. Ibid. III.54.16.

of evidence to show how strong-willed the Aśvinā are. For, the Aśvinā are invoked in many places, cp. पुरुत्रा हि वां मतिभिर्हवन्ते[23]; naturally, therefore, he who invokes them first is favoured by the Aśvinā much more than he who is late in inviting them, cp. पूर्वः पूर्वो यजमानो वनीयान्[24] ('each first in worship is most highly favoured'—Griffith). Were it not for their strong will, the Aśvinā might be tempted to exhaust all their gifts by bestowing them too lavishly on those who prayed to them early, and consequently some worshippers may have to go unrewarded. But the Aśvinā are strong enough not to be thus imposed upon—a fact which their worshippers know quite well. यदद्य कर्हिकर्हिचिच्छ्रुथ्यातमिमं हवम्[25] (wherever you are today, hear this my call); यद्द्रुह्यव्यनवि तुर्वशे यदौ हुवे वामथ मा गतम्[26] (whether you are with Druhyu, Anu, Turvaśa or Yadu, I call on you; so may you come to me); क्वस्विदद्य कतमास्वश्विना विक्षु दस्रा मादयेते शुभस्पती[27] (where, with what clans do the two wonder-workers, Lords of splendour, rejoice today?); यददो दिवो अर्णव इषो वा मदथो गृहे। श्रुतमिन्मे अमर्त्या ॥[28] (whether you are today in the heaven's ocean, or you revel in a house with food, hear this call of mine, ye immortal ones), etc.; these passages show that despite the knowledge that the Twins favoured others with their gifts, the worshipper felt confident that his prayer to them would not go unheard. In these passages then we have an indirect hint at the strength of the will of the Aśvinā.

Moreover, the Twins are इषिरा[29] (impetuous). The epithet उग्रा[30] applied to them does not mean, as it is sometimes understood to do, formidable or terrible; it is etymologically connected with ओजस्[31] and has to be understood to mean strong—both of body and of will. Similarly, अनपच्युता[32] (unflagging) shows the tenaciously

23. Ibid. VII.69.6.
24. Ibid. V.77.2.
25. Ibid. VIII.73.5.
26. Ibid. VIII.10.5.
27. Ibid. X.40.14.
28. Ibid. VIII.26.17.
29. Ibid. V.75.5.
30. Ibid. I.257.6; VI.62.3.
31. See Gr. Wb., S.V.
32. ṚV.VIII.26.7.

resolute will of the Aśvinā whose enthusiasm no obstacle is great enough to damp, cp. अत्रिधा[33] (unfailing).

While thus naturally forceful, their will is not circumscribed by any external agency. They are said to have a mind which fulfils all desires, cp. कामप्रेणेव मनसा चरन्ता.[34] They wander wherever they like, cp. कुत्राचिद्यामममश्विना दधाना.[35] The long array of mythological legends in which the Aśvinā work various miracles serves to show the utter freedom of their body and mind. The independence of their will of all outside limitations is so complete that they are called वेधसा[36] (Disposers). Their relation with Ṛta too does not appear to be such as in any way to restrict their free will. From their epithet ऋतावृधा[37] (strengtheners of Ṛta) we can see that the Aśvinā's connection with Ṛta is a voluntary undertaking on their part. Although in ṚV.I.156.4 the Aśvinā are said to conform to the will of Viṣṇu, it is perhaps the only passage which sets a limitation to their will. However, the Aśvinā are राजानावदिते[38] (unchecked kings). The freedom of their will emanates from, and is backed by, a very substantial power which is exclusively theirs; it is their own godhead, and through this they rise to the fullness of their glory, cp. युवं श्रियमश्विना देवता तां दिवोनपाता वनथः शचीभिः[39] Exercising their innate power (स्वधा)[40], the Aśvinā betake themselves to what activities they choose. This self-dependence and the attendant freedom of will are consequent upon the perfect congruity of the Twins' minds. Theirs are minds uniform, cp.

33. Ibid. III.58.7.
34. Ibid. I.158.2.
35. Ibid. VII.69.2.
36. Ibid. I.181.7.
37. Ibid. I.47.1, 3, 5; VIII.87.5. In all these passages ऋतावृधा is used in reference to the drinking of Soma; we may be justified therefore in taking Ṛta as 'the sacrifice'. Ṛta may as well be taken to mean the cosmic order to which the Aśvinā naturally conform. However, the meaning of Ṛta, whatever it is, does not affect the point under consideration.
38. Ibid. X.39.11.
39. Ibid. IV.44.2.
40. Ibid. IV.45.6; VIII.10.6.

समनसा[41], and therefore free from all discord. So profoundly and invariably uniform in will the Aśvinā are that their minds appear to have lost their individuality and to have resolved into one common mind, because in the *Ṛgveda* their mind is not unfrequently referred to in the singular.[42]

Despite such freedom, the will of the Aśvinā does not err owing to wrong motives. Even in their aggressive activities the Aśvinā do not appear to have been prompted by wrong motives. They assisted Indra when he fought against Namuci, because Namuci was an असुर.[43] True, they are incited by the worshippers to "smash the niggard" (उत्पणीँर्हतम्),[44] or to "leave the miser's life to decay" (जुरतं पणेरसुम्),[45] yet the purity of their will is not impaired because these incitations were meant to serve, as will be shown later, [46] a negative purpose, viz. to warn the sacrificer against the consequences which would follow if he became parsimonious at the sacrifice.

Besides, in small details the Aśvinā retain the purity of their will. For instance, they are often requested by the worshipper to pass by others and to hasten to himself. मोष्वन्याँ उपारतम्[47] (Go not to others); किमन्ये पर्यासते अस्मत्स्तोमेभिरश्विना[48] (Do others besides us worship you with songs?); मा वामन्ये नियमन्देवयन्तः[49] (Let not other worshippers detain you). The Ṛsi even wishes "All others around us should burst" (नभन्तामन्यके समे).[50] But the Aśvinā are strong enough not to yield to these prayers prompted by personal desires, and their motives pure enough to prevent them from being

41. Ibid. I.92.16; VII.74.2.
42. See for example, ṚV.I.158.2; VII.67.7.
43. ṚV. X.131.4, 5. For a later Brāhmaṇical version of this legend see Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. p. 93f. note, where quotations from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are given in extenso.
44. Ibid. I.184.2.
45. Ibid. I.182.3.
46. See p. 35f.
47. ṚV. VIII.5.13.
48. Ibid. VIII.8.8.
49. Ibid. IV.44.5; VII.69.6.
50. Ibid. VIII.42.4, 6.

prejudiced. They act impartially, and visit the home of whoever offers, cp. दाश्वांसमुपगच्छतम्.[51] They reject nothing that has been prepared for them (न संस्कृतं प्रमिमीतः).[52] In order, therefore, to be able to satisfy the demands of all the worshippers—and they are many—the Aśvinā, it is said, like him best who worships early, cp. पूर्वः पूर्वो यजमानो वनीयान्.[53] The Aśvinā are therefore fitly said to have been animated by pure motives (शुचिव्रता);[54] naturally, they are above reproach (अनिन्द्या).[55]

Such a strong, independent and benevolent mentality is bound to be reflected in all the activities of the Aśvinā. Its influence is visible, above all, in their attitude towards their worshippers. On account of their benevolent nature, the Aśvinā undertake to visit any and every worshipper; not unfrequently does the Ṛṣi try to ingratiate himself with the Aśvinā by eulogizing them as गन्तारा दाशुषो गृहम्[56]. From clan to clan the Aśvinā go in order to accept the offerings, cp. विशं विशं हि गच्छतः;[57] also विशो येन गच्छथो यज्वरीर्नरा.[58] This easy accessibility to the Twins raises high hopes in the hearts of all those who are in need so that the gods are invoked everywhere, cp. पुरुत्रा हि वां मतिभिर्हवन्ते.[59] All men, almost without exception, call upon them (विश्वे जनासो अश्विना हवन्ते[60]). The Aśvinā are gods whom many invoke (पुरुहूता[61]), and invoke oftenest in the hour of need, cp. यामहूतमा.[62] If any of these pressing demands upon their attention the Aśvinā do not—because they cannot—answer quickly, the worshippers do not question their sincerity. Of course, they ask: Where are you twain? (कूष्ठः);[63] where are the two fair ones? (क्व त्या वल्गू),[64] etc.; yet far from

51. Ibid. I.47.3.
52. Ibid. V.76.2.
53. Ibid. V.77.2.
54. Ibid. I.15.11, 182.1.
55. Ibid. I.180.7.
56. Ibid. VIII.5.5, 22.3.
57. Ibid. VII.74.1.
58. Ibid. X.41.2.
59. Ibid. VII.69.6.
60. Ibid. III.58.4.
61. Ibid. VI.63.1.
62. Ibid. V.73.9; VIII.73.6, etc.
63. Ibid. V.74.1.
64. Ibid. VI.63.1.

being despondent, they quite confidently hope for their arrival. Knowing full well that the Aśvinā move from one farthest end of the universe to the other ever helping and protecting the needy invokers, the Ṛṣi trusts that the Twins who are well-disposed (towards him—अस्मयू[65]) will not overlook his prayer. For, so sympathetic they are with their worshippers that the Aśvinā are considered to be easy to invoke (सुहवा).[66] In response to the protestation of the worshipper that प्रेष्ठा ह्यसथो अस्य मन्मन्[67] (you are dearest to this prayer of mine), the Aśvinā extend the utmost cordiality and sympathy to him so that the worshipper makes his offerings to them with as much confidence and enthusiasm as he would to his parents, cp. ऊर्ध्वा भवन्ति पितरेव मेधाः.[68] It is only the unfailingly obliging nature of the Aśvinā that could have inspired the assertion, in so many words, that "like a son to his parents, I call on you" (सूनुर्न पितरा विवक्मि).[69] Elsewhere the same intimate relations are conversely expressed: Like parents their son, help me (पुत्रायेव पितरा मह्यं शिक्षतम्).[70]

The sympathy of the Aśvinā does not stop here; such a paternal attitude would be at best what they as deities may be reasonably expected to assume towards their worshippers. But the Aśvinā, prompted as they are by a benevolent will which would not like to keep the needy invoker at arm's length, enter into a co-ordinate connection with him without maintaining any difference between him and themselves. These "sires, enquiring after kinsmen" (पितरा बन्धुपृच्छा)[71] condescend to come down from Olympus and do not shrink from contracting relations with their worshippers as between equals: "You have entered into friendship with us" (समस्मे बन्धुमेयथुः)[72]; "daily seek-

65. Ibid. VII.74.4; VIII.26.14.
66. Ibid. VII.44.2; VIII.22.1.
67. Ibid. VI.63.1.
68. Ibid. III.58.2.
69. Ibid. VII.67.1.
70. Ibid. X.39.6.
71. Ibid. III.54.16.
72. Ibid. V.73.4.

ing your friendship, Ye Men, Protectors of many, may I turn you hither" (आ वां नरा पुरुभुजा ववृत्यां दिवे दिवे चिदश्विना सखीयन्).[73] This friendliness is by no means skin-deep as is evinced by the fact that the Ṛṣi approaches the Aśvinā with a desire to form the closest (नेदिष्ठम्) friendship, cp. नेदिष्ठं याम्याप्यम्.[74] The Aśvinā are spoken of as वत्सप्रचेतसा[75]—an epithet which shows how closely they had identified themselves with their proteges. The lowest depth to which the Aśvinā could stoop in their friendly attitude is sounded when the Ṛṣi invites them to his home so that "renewing auspicious friendship, we may revel together intoxicated with Madhu" (पुनः कृण्वानाः सख्या शिवानि मध्वा मदेम सह नू समानाः).[76] It is natural therefore that the worshippers who have been favoured with such a high privilege should express their joy and admiration, cp. सजात्यमश्विनोश्चारु नाम[77] (glorious indeed is the friendship of the Aśvinā). This close friendship ever for good; "auspicious is your friendship" (सख्यं शिवं वः)[78] It is so holy and ideal that it surpasses the relation with other gods, cp. ययोरस्ति प्रणः सख्यं देवेष्वध्याप्यम्.[79]

Nor is this all. Either not satisfied with personal intimacy with the Aśvinā, or desirous the more to ingratiate themselves with them, the Ṛṣis assert that theirs is a connection handed down from father to son and try to strengthen their claim to the Aśvinā's friendship by calling it hereditary. युवोर्हि नः सख्या पित्र्याणि समानो बन्धुरुत तस्य वित्तम्[80] ('Twixt you and us there is ancestral friendship and common kin; remember and regard it). पुनः कृण्वाना सख्या शिवानि[81]

73. Ibid. V.49.1.
74. Ibid. VIII.73.6.
75. Ibid. VIII.8.7.
76. Ibid. III.58.6.
Note:—This unhesitating mixing with human beings was responsible, as the later tradition goes, for the exclusion of the Aśvinā from the sacrifice to which they are said to have been admitted latterly cp. *Śat. Br.* iv.1, 5, 1ff. also *Taitt. Saṃhita*, vi.4, 9, 1. There is no evidence in the *Ṛgveda* to support this view.
77. Ibid. III.54.16.
78. Ibid, III.58.6.
79. Ibid. VIII.10.3.
80. Ibid. VIII.72.1.
81. Ibid. III.58.6.

(let us renew the-old-auspicious friendship). In bestowing abundant riches on the worshipper, the Aśvinā only display in a tangible form their hereditary connection with his family, cp. पुरूणि रत्ना दधतौ न्यस्मे अनु पूर्वाणि चख्यथुर्युगानि.[82]

These Friends of man do not fail to help their worshipper whenever he in the hour of need calls on their help. अवतं नाधमानम्[83] (help me in my distress); ता वां स्ववसे हवामहे अश्विना नाधमानाः[84] (We in distress call on you for help). These calls the Aśvinā will not hesitate to listen to, for, "surely indeed, oh Aśvinā, the seers of old have called you 'the best helpers in distress' (किमङ्ग वां प्रत्यवर्ति गमिष्ठाहुर्विप्रासो अश्विना पुराजाः).[85] The distress is chiefly poverty which the Aśvinā remove by bestowing their gifts. In fact, so amply do they give away that सुदानू and मघवाना—titles glorious in themselves—have in effect become stock-epithets of the Twins. They give at night, they give by day, and give in no niggardly way, cp. दिवानक्तं दशस्यतम्,[86] पुरु हि वां पुरुभुजा देष्णम्.[87] Whoever worships or offers to the Aśvinā is sure to be rewarded, cp. धत्तं रत्नानि दाशुषे,[88] गृणते चित्रराती.[89] Generally, the worshippers do not leave it to the Aśvinā to decide what the gifts should consist of; they ask of them what exactly they are in need of. "Bring us wealth" (आ नो रयिं वहतम्);[90] "bring to us riches thrice" (त्रिर्नो रयिं वहतम्);[91] "Come, Aśvinā, with riches for the five clans" (आ..पाञ्चजन्येन राया);[92] "desirous of wealth I call on you, lovers of Madhu" (हुवे...वां माध्वीवसूयुः),[93] for, "you carry wealth in your chariot for the offerer".[94] As an illustration it is said that when the Twins went to the house of Divodāsa, their chariot was laden with riches (रेवत्).[95] Besides रयि and वसु, the worshippers pray to the

82. Ibid. VII.70.4.
83. Ibid. I.181.7.
84. Ibid. I.118.10.
85. Ibid. I.118.3; III.58.3.
86. Ibid. I.139.5.
87. Ibid. VI.63.8.
88. Ibid. I.47.1, etc.
89. Ibid. VI.62.5.
90. Ibid. V.42.18.
91. Ibid. I.34.5.
92. Ibid. VII.72.5.
93. Ibid. VII.67.4.
94. Ibid. I.47.9.
95. Ibid. I.116.18.

Aśvinā for रत्नानि. आ नो रत्नानि बिभ्रतावश्विना गच्छतं युवम्;[96] धत्तं रत्नानि[97] etc. Once the Ṛṣi asks the Aśvinā for द्रविण.[98]

Sometimes the Ṛṣis even definitely say how much they want. A Ṛṣi makes the following request:—"Aśvinā, find for me my share of new-presented gifts so that Kaśu the son of Cedi may give me a hundred camels and ten thousand cows".[99] But such instances are very rare. In passages like the following: "Endow every word of the singer with riches" (वाचं वाचं जरितू रत्निनीं कृतम्),[100] or "Bring us riches in hundreds and thousands" (अस्मे आवहतं रयिं शतवन्तं सहस्रिणम्),[101] the element of conventional exaggeration is too obvious for us to interpret them literally. Such passages express in a concrete form the trait of the Aśvinā which is referred to by epithets like सुदानू,[102] or by the compliment that "limitless is your bounty, ye protectors of many" (पुरु हि वां पुरुभुजा देष्णम्);[103] they show the extreme charitableness of the Aśvinā.

As we have seen so far, the Aśvinā are invoked by the worshippers so that they may endow them with rayi, vasu or ratnāni. Although the words used are different, yet, it appears, they are synonymous, and mean 'wealth' in general.[104] The wealth denoted by these words is the cattle, horses, chariots and such other belongings, which made up the property of the Vedic Ārya. "Bring us riches, Aśvinā, of cows, heroes, and chariots, bring us food with horses" (आ नो गोमन्तमश्विना सुवीरं सुरथं रयिम् । वोळ्हमश्वावतीरिषः).[105] round, Aśvinā, to us which brings cows and gold, ye wonderworkers" (अश्विनावतिरस्मदा गोमद्दस्रा हिरण्यवत्),[106] "May I possess good cows (सुगवः)".[107] The Ṛṣis request the Aśvinā so

96. Ibid. V.75.3.
97. Ibid. VII.67.10.
98. Ibid. VIII.35.10-12.
99. Ibid. VIII.5.37.
100. Ibid. I.182.4.
101. Ibid. VIII.5.15.
102. Ibid. I.112.11, etc.
103. Ibid. VI.63.8.
104. See Gr. Wb., S. vv.
105. ṚV. VIII.5.10.
106. Ibid. I.92.16.
107. Ibid. I.116.25.

unceasingly for cows and horses because the former supplied them not only with ghee for the sacrifice but also with milk, butter, etc., which they could use as food, while the latter were essentially required in frays and wars. It is therefore not surprising that the Aśvinā are requested to "come with thousands of cows and horses" (आ नो गव्येभिरश्व्यैः सहस्रैरुप गच्छतम्);[108] the Aśvinā not only bring cows and horses, but also "swell the cows (with milk), and strengthen the horses i.e. improve their mettle" (पिन्वतं गा जिन्वतमर्वतो नः).[109]

Besides receiving cattle and other riches from the gods in reward of their prayers and offerings, the worshippers seem often to have been engaged in frays for the sake of cattle etc. In these frays they required help, and it is Indra, the proud bearer of the deadly वज्र, whom they usually looked up to for it. The Aśvinā too, though not frequently, are invoked for assistance on the battle-field. "Incite our prayers in the fights; may we share the wealth in the battle of heroes for spoil" (अस्माकं ब्रह्म पृतनासु जिन्वतं वयं धनं शूरसाता भजेमहि).[110] Numerous are the instances in which the Aśvinā have helped their proteges in wars. They helped Divodāsa Atithigva against Śambara who was ultimately destroyed, cp. याभिर्महामतिथिग्वं कशोजुवं दिवोदासं शम्बरहत्य आवतम्.[111] They protected Trasadasyu when the castle was stormed, cp. याभिः पूर्भिद्ये त्रसदस्युमावतम्.[112] For Syūmaraśmi they threw arrows, cp. याभिः शारीराजतं स्यूमरश्मये.[113] They helped a hero who fought for Kine "in hero battle, in the strife for land and sons", cp. याभिर्नरं गोषुयुधं नृषाह्ये क्षेत्रस्य साता तनयस्य जिन्वथः.[114] They blew the Dasyu off with their trumpet, cp. अभिदस्युं बकुरेणाधमन्ता.[115] With poison they killed the son of विष्वाच्.[116]

108. Ibid. VIII.73.14.
109. Ibid. I.118.2.
110. Ibid. I.157.2.
111. Ibid. I.112.14.
112. Ibid. I.112.14.
113. Ibid. I.112.16.
114. Ibid. I.112.22.
115. Ibid. I.117.21.
116. Ibid. I.117.16.

In spite of these instances, it remains to be ascertained whether the Aśvinā betook themselves to these aggressions and fights of their own accord, or whether these aggressive activities have come to be ascribed to them on account of their alliance with Indra with whom they often co-operated. From the general impression we get of the character of the Aśvinā and their activities in the Ṛgveda, we may be led to infer that the Aśvinā cannot be expected to take part in fights. Their destination is the peaceful sanctuary of the sacrificer rather than the noisy battle-field. Their activity is to heal, to help, to rescue rather than to smash and to destroy.[117] It is therefore probable that their alliance with Indra, whom they helped against Namuci, and by whom assisted they destroyed the enemies of Pṛthuśravas, cp. निरहतं दुच्छुना इन्द्रवन्ता पृथुश्रवसो वृषणावराती:,[118] led to the extension and the attribution of these fights to the Aśvinā. The legend of Pṛthuśravas as it stands, shows the predominance of the Indra-element because the Aśvinā would not of themselves have dealt with the enemies in the way they are said to have done. They would have acted rather as they have done in the case of Rebha who had been tied down hand and foot by his enemies;[119] of Jāhuṣa who had been besieged all round;[120] of the वर्तिका which had been caught in the wolf's mouth,[121] etc.—they would have rescued Pṛthuśravas and let his enemies alone. But allied as they are with Indra, the Aśvinā take the offensive and hunt down the enemies. In the case of Rebha, had they been so allied with Indra, instead of rescuing him—or even after having rescued him, the Aśvinā would have been prompted to chastise those who had persecuted him. Allied with Indra, they

117. cp. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, I. p. 115; also Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51.

118. ṚV. I.116.21.

119. Ibid. I.116.24, etc.

120. Ibid. I.116.20, etc.

121. Ibid. I.116.15, etc.

would not simply have rescued Jāhuṣa from the siege, but would also have routed the besiegers; and if Indra had been in league with them when they rescued the वर्तिका from the mouth of the wolf, the Aśvinā would in all probability have killed the wolf. Thus the whole complexion of the legends would have been thoroughly changed under the influence of Indra.

In fact, the Aśvinā's alliance with Indra has not only influenced the spirit of their activities, but through this alliance many deeds of Indra have come to be attributed to them. These deeds are warlike, as indeed they ought to be, done as they are by Indra. In ṚV.I.112.14 the Aśvinā are said to have protected Divodāsa Atithigva in the fight with Śambara. There is however no sufficient evidence in the Ṛgveda which would confirm the conclusion which we are inclined to draw from this passage, viz., the legend is genuine and refers to the Aśvinā. Rather, on the contrary, there are many passages in the Ṛgveda which show that the legend of Śambara belongs pre-eminently to Indra. "Thou, Indra, left Śambara at the mercy of Atithigva" (अरन्धयो अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरम्).[122] "For Atithigva, he (Indra), the Strong brought Śambara from the mountain down" (अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेरुग्रो अवाभरत्).[123] The destruction of Śambara is a feat of which even a war-god like Indra may well be proud; once he reflects: 'In the wild joy of Soma I demolished Śambara's forts, ninety-and-nine, together; and, utterly, the hundredth habitation, when helping Divodāsa Atithigva" (अहं पुरो मन्दसानो व्यैरं नव साकं नवतीः शम्बरस्य। शततमं वेश्यं सर्वताता दिवोदासमतिथिग्वं यदावम्)[124] It is clear therefore that the fight with Śambara is an exploit primarily, not of the Aśvinā, but of Indra, and

122. Ibid. I.51.6.

123. Ibid. I.130.7.

124. Ibid. IV.26.3. For the Indra-Śambara fight also cp. ṚV. I.54.4; II.14.6; 19.6; VI.26.5, etc.

that it came to be attributed to the Aśvinā on account of their connection with Indra.

Another legend which illustrates how the Aśvinā came to be credited with deeds which Indra has done is that of Trasadasyu. In ṚV.I.112.14 the Aśvinā are said to have helped Trasadasyu "when the castle was stormed," cp. याभिः पूर्भिद्ये त्रसदस्युमावतम्. But precisely the same heroic deed is said to have been done by Indra for the sake of Purukutsa[125] whose son Trasadasyu is; and we need not be surprised to find that the Vedic legends are in a dynamic condition, now undergoing a change in the name of the person who has been helped or saved or again in the name of the deity about whom the legends are narrated. It is quite probable that the legend in which Indra is stated to have stormed the castles (seven in number) on behalf of Purukutsa was subsequently narrated in reference with his son Trasadasyu whom too Indra is said to have helped;[126] and the same heroic deed was then ascribed to the Aśvinā.

We are thus enabled to see that the Aśvinā's alliance with Indra is responsible for the attribution to them of many aggressive activities which primarily belong to Indra. The inevitable conclusion follows, therefore, that it is not the nature of the Aśvinā to have recourse to direct action; consequently, the few passages where they are invoked for help on the battle-field and the legends in which martial deeds are ascribed to them do not reflect the genuine, peaceful nature of the Aśvinā.

Besides wealth, the Ṛṣis invite the Aśvinā not less frequently out of a desire to be rewarded with food. The Twins who are so liberal as to merit the appellation

125. Cp. ṚV.I.63.7; 174.2, etc. Trasadasyu is called Paurukutsi in ṚV.VII.19.3 and Paurukutsya in ṚV. VIII. 19.36.
126. Ibid. VIII.36.7, etc.

दानुनस्पती[127] (Lords of bounties) respond to the prayer of a worshipper for cattle and other riches; but especially ought they to lend an attentive ear to the prayer for food, because they are the first teachers of agriculture. They sowed barley with the aid of a plough, cp. यवं वृकेणाश्विना वपन्ता.[128] Favouring man with their gifts, the Aśvinā ploughed the first (crop of) barley in the sky, cp. दशस्यन्ता मनवे पूर्व्यं दिवि यवं वृकेण कर्षथः.[129] In fact, the Aśvinā are most liberal in bestowing food (इषा मंहिष्ठा);[130] they are therefore requested to "bestow strength-giving, nourishing, food on us thrice by night and morning" (त्रिः पृक्षो अस्मे अक्षरेव...);[131] "thrice bestow on us food which does not fail" (त्रिः पृक्षो अस्मे अक्षरेव पिन्वतम्);[132] "go a round to us, O Aśvinā, which brings food" (यासिष्टं वर्तिरश्विनाविरावत्);[133] "bring us food with horses" (वोळ्हमश्वावतीरिषः).[134] To Vatsa who, O Nāsatyā, has praised you with songs, give food trickling with ghee, with a thousand ornaments" (यो वां नासत्यावृषिर्वत्सो गीर्भिरवीवृधत्। तस्मै सहस्रनिर्णिजमिषं धत्तं घृतश्च्युतम्).[135] "You, O men, bring food for him who offers to you at the proper time, O lords of splendour" (युवं होत्रामृतुथा जुह्वते नरेषं जनाय वहथः शुभस्पती).[136]

The Aśvinā have many boons to bestow, cp विश्ववारा.[137] The man who worships or praises them receives their various gifts, cp. या शंसते स्तुवते शम्भविष्ठा बभूवतुर्गृणते चित्रराती.[138] In thus bestowing material gifts on their worshippers, the Aśvinā bring them happiness and bliss, cp. याभिः शंतातीभवथो ददाशुषे[139] The Twins who are the best of givers, (मंहिष्ठा)[140] are invoked by the worshippers for the bestowal of weal, cp. अश्विना ईमहे स्वस्तये.[141] सत्यमिद्वा उ अश्विना युवामाहुर्मयोभुवा.[142] (Truly they call you, bringers of happiness). This assertion shows

127. Ibid. VIII.5.16, etc.
128. Ibid. I.117.21.
129. Ibid. VIII.22.6.
130. Ibid. VIII.22.12.
131. Ibid. I.34.3.
132. Ibid. I.34.4.
133. Ibid. VII.67.10.
134. Ibid. VIII.5.10.
135. Ibid. VIII.8.15.
136. Ibid. X.40.4.
137. Ibid. VII.70.1.
138. Ibid. VI.62.5.
139. Ibid. I.112.20.
140. Ibid. X.143.6.
141. Ibid. VIII.18.20.
142. Ibid. V.73.9.

how firmly the Aśvinā had by charitable activities established themselves as the Bringers of happiness par excellence in the opinion of their worshippers. So constantly are the Twins called शंभविष्ठा, मृळयत्तमा, मयोभुवा, etc., (all epithets show the liberal mentality and generous activities of the Twins) that the superlatives tend to lose the distinctive force of their meanings. The Aśvinā give, give handsomely, and give ever for good, cp. मही वामूतिरश्विना मयोभूः.[143] In order that they may minister to the happiness of their worshippers, it is not enough that the Aśvinā should bring material gifts only. In addition to these, the Vedic Ṛṣis demanded what they thought constituted their happiness. They asked for fame (त्रिरुत श्रवांसि नः).[144] They wished the Aśvinā should endow them with what would elicit praise, cp. त्रिर्नान्द्यं वहतम्.[145] They yearned to be above censure, cp. मा नो रीरधतं निदे.[146] All such requests for material gifts, for name, praise, etc., are put in a nutshell, as it were, when the Ṛṣi prays to the Aśvinā to "bestow, thrice, good fortune on us" (त्रिः सौभगत्वम्).[147] "By days and nights protect us on all sides with harmless, good fortunes" (द्युभिरक्तुभिः परिपातमस्मानरिष्टेभिरश्विना सौभगेभिः).[148] "Bring all good fortune to us" (आ विश्वान्यमृता सौभगानि).[149] The happiness of the Vedic Ṛṣis therefore consisted, as can be inferred from their demands, in a life of ease, free from all trouble; and to this effect a Ṛṣi actually says: आ सुम्याय सुम्यं प्राता रथेनाश्विना वा सक्षणी। हुवे पितेव सोभरी[150] (Like Sobhari, my father, I call in the morning on the blissful car or rather-on the inseparable Aśvinā with the car, for an easy path in life). These prayers the Aśvinā are not slow in listening to; their good graces hurry to the worshippers like a cow, cp. अस्माँ अच्छा सुमतिर्वां शुभस्पती। आ धेनुरिव धावतु.[151]

143. Ibid. I.117.19.
144. Ibid. I.34.5.
145. Ibid. I.34.4.
146. Ibid. VIII.8.13.
147. Ibid. I.34.5.
148. Ibid. I.112.25.
149. Ibid. V.42.18.
150. Ibid. VIII.22.15.
151. Ibid VIII.22.4.

In their persistent demands for material gifts, the Ṛṣis do not overlook the fact that their intellect required as much reinforcement as their worldly means required increase. If they desired to be able to pray to the gods effectively, their intellect must be vigorous and properly constituted. This they seem to have realized. They pray to the gods with a view to be enabled to speak well in the assembly, cp. बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः.[152] They aspire to be endowed with mental alertness (दक्षाय).[153] But the chief concern of the worshippers, as far as their intellectual equipment was concerned, was that they should be able to pray so well that the prayer may be "effectual," cp. अप्नस्वतीमश्विना वाचमस्मे कृतं नो दस्रा वृषणा मनीषाम्.[154] In other words, the prayer must be so pleasing to the gods that they may be disposed to reward it amply, cp. वाचंवाचं जरितू रत्निनीं कृतम्.[155] For this reason the Ṛṣis untiringly request the Aśvinā to "swell the prayers" (पिन्वतं धियः).[156] The Aśvinā quicken the prayers, धियंजिन्वा[157] and धीजवना[158]—both these epithets evince the propulsive influence of the Twins on the human mind. Naturally, the worshipper prays to the Aśvinā to inspire his hymn, cp. स्तोमं हिनोतं मान्यस्य कारोः.[159] "Incite our prayers, incite our thoughts, Oh Aśvinā" (ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं धियः).[160] Moreover, the Aśvinā have a tender regard for all thoughtful prayers, and these they do not fail to appreciate, cp. आदारो वां मतीनां नासत्या मतवचसा.[161] Consequently, they not only inspire new prayers, but also further and protect those which have been offered up to them. The invokers request the Twins to safeguard the prayers they have offered, cp. विश्वा धियो अश्विना प्रावतं मे.[162] "Protect all these prayers of ours O Aśvinā"

152. Ibid. II.39.8.
153. Ibid. VIII.9.20.
154. Ibid. I.112.24.
155. Ibid. I.182.4.
156. Ibid. X.39.2, etc.
157. Ibid. I.182.1; VIII.26.6.
158. Ibid. VIII.5.35.
159. Ibid. I.184.4.
160. Ibid. VIII.35.16.
161. Ibid. I.46.5.
162. Ibid. I.117.23.

(अविष्टं धीष्वश्विना न आसु);[163] "protect the prayers thrice" (त्रिरुतावतं धियः).[164]

No less anxious the worshippers are about their health. Realizing or visualizing the handicap and the set-back which a disease inevitably entails, the Ṛṣi requests the Divine Physicians (दैव्या भिषजा)[165] to "keep away sickness" from him, cp. युयुतमस्मद् अमीवाम्.[166] "By day and night keep away the arrow (of disease, from us" (दिवानक्तं शरुमस्मद्युयोतम्).[167] If, however, one is overtaken by a disease before one could pray to the Aśvinā to keep all diseases away from oneself, one can still rely on, and invoke, them; for, the Aśvinā are accomplished physicians with potent medicine, cp. युवं ह स्यो भिषजा भेषजेभिः,[168] with which they bestow happiness wherever they go, cp. अथो ह्यस्थुर्भिषजा मयोभुदा.[169] Their medical case contains "medicines from heaven, from the earth, and from water," cp. त्रिर्नो अश्विना दिव्यानि भेषजा त्रिः पार्थिवानि त्रिरुदत्तमद्भ्यः.[170] From far and wide the Aśvinā bring their medicines, cp. यन्नसत्या पराके अर्वाके अस्ति भेषजम्;[171] and with these they "cure whatever is diseased", cp. भिषज्यतं यदातुरम्.[172] No disease is too obstinate for the Aśvinā to cure; for, the Twins are reputed physicians, especially of the blind, the lean, and the wounded, cp. अन्धस्य चिन्नासत्या कृशस्य चिद्युवामिदाहुर्भिषजा रुतस्य चित्.[173] With the aid of their medicines, they are able to bring ease to their patients, cp. उत त्या दैव्या भिषजा शं नः करतो अश्विना.[174]

As a lasting testimony to the powers of these Physicians, various legends are recounted: Ṛjrāśva,[175] who used to cut up a hundred rams to the she-wolf, had his eyes put out by his father—by his cruel father, (अशिवेन पित्रा).[176]

163. Ibid. VII.67.6.
164. Ibid. I.34.5.
165. Ibid. VIII.18.8.
166. Ibid. VII.71.2.
167. Ibid. VII.71.1.
168. Ibid. I.157.6.
169. Ibid. X.39.5.
170. Ibid. 34.6.
171. Ibid. VIII.9.15.
172. Ibid. VIII.22.10.
173. Ibid. X.39.3.
174. Ibid. VIII.18.8.
175. Cp. Ibid. I.116.16; 117.17, 18.
176. Ibid. I.117.17.

As a Ṛc has it. He therefore called on the Aśvinā for help; out of gratitude and compassion for the blinded Ṛjrāśva, the she-wolf too invoked their help. The Aśvinā responded to this appeal and restored Ṛjrāśva's eyes; thus they "gave light to the blind man so that he might see."[177] Viśpalā[178] had a leg of hers broken at Khela's tournament. Being invoked, the Aśvinā substituted an iron leg to her and thus enabled her to win. They also restored the eyes of Kaṇva[179] whose praises they relished much (सुष्टुतिं जुषाणा); they made the imploring Kavi to see, cp. उतो कविं पुरुभुजा युवं ह कृपमाणमकृणुतं विचक्षे.[180] With their powers, the Aśvinā enabled the blind and lame Parvārj to see and to walk.[181] But by far the most astounding of their surgical feats is that they consciously severed Dadhyañc's head and replaced it by that of a horse, and Dadhyañc, it appears, felt none the worse for the change.[181a]

Exercising the functions of divine surgeons as seen above, the Aśvinā are expert in curing diseases as well. घोषा, the daughter of Kakṣīvat, had been labouring under an अभिशस्ति[182] (a curse), which perhaps was leprosy as Sāyaṇa suggests. She had therefore to stay at her father's house, for none would accept a leper's hand. In her misfortune she made a plaintive appeal to the Divine Physicians who heard her call, cured her, and gave her a husband.[183] The Aśvinā's capacity to cure goes even far-

177. Ibid. I.117.17.
178. Cp. Ibid. I.112.10; 116.15; 117.11; 118.8; X.39.8. In I.182.1, the Aśvinā are called विश्पलावसू
179. Ibid. I.118.7. It is not clear in what way exactly Kaṇva was helped by the Aśvinā. In ṚV. I.112.5, he is said to have been helped when he strove to win; while according to a third version, cp. ṚV. VIII.5.23, he was saved by the Aśvinā from a heated pit.
180. Ibid. I.116.14.
181. Ibid. I.112.8. Parāvṛj is mentioned also as a protege of Indra.
181a. Ibid. I.116.12; 117.22; 119.9.
182. Ibid. X.39.
183. Ibid. I.117.7; also See ṚV. X.39, 40, whose Ṛṣi is Ghoṣā.

ther. Cyavāna[184] who had grown grey with years wistfully prayed to the Aśvinā to restore him to youth. The Aśvinā moved by his request "tore old age off his body like a cloak", cp. जुजुरुषो नासत्योत वव्रिं प्रामुञ्चतं द्रापिमिव च्यवानात्[185]; not only was Cyavāna rejuvenated by the Twins, but also these wonderworkers "made him the husband of young girls" (दस्रादित्पतिमकृणुतं कनीनाम्).[186] Similarly, Kali who had grown old had his vigour of youth restored to him by the Aśvinā, cp. युवं विप्रस्य जरणामुपेयुषः पुनः कलेरकृणुतं युवं द्वयः ।[187]

The Aśvinā who wrought such miracles are naturally prayed to by the Ṛṣi: "May I grow into old age as (I would go to my) home" (अस्तमिवेज्जरिमाणं जगम्याम्).[188] Prayers a long life are offered to them; "lengthen our life, O Aśvinā," (प्रायुस्तारिष्टम्).[189] "Make the son of Sahadeva live long" (कुमारं साहदेव्यं दीर्घायुषं कृणोतन).[190]

Besides bestowing longevity, the Aśvinā take care of the worshippers' bodies. They are "the protectors of our bodies like two noses" (नासेव नस्तन्वो रक्षितारा);[191] hence they are requested to "become the guards of our bodies" (भूतम् उत नस्तनूपा).[192] This protection they can give best by bestowing strength on the worshippers. They must endow them with शवस्,[193] and so nourish them that they may live long, cp. स्तनाविव पिप्यतं जीवसे नः.[194]

Along with taking care of their own selves, the worshippers wish that their progeny should be strong too. Hence, they ask for strength and vigour not only for themselves but for their sons and grandsons also. Frequent is

184. Cp. I.116.10; 117.13; 118.6; V.74.5; 75.5; VII.68.6; 71.5; X.39.4; 61.1-3. The last of these passages does not appear to have any connection with the famous deed of the Aśvinā—lengthening the life of Cyavāna.
185. Ibid. I.116.10.
186. Ibid. I.116.10.
187. Ibid. X.39.8.
188. Ibid. I.116.25.
189. Ibid. I.34.11, etc.
190. Ibid. IV.15.8.
191. Ibid. II.39.6.
192. ṚV. VIII.9.11.
193. Ibid. VII.9.20, etc.
194. Ibid. II.39.6.

the invocation: You, Aśvinā, go a round to us for the sake of ourselves and our children (वर्ति यर्यस्त नयाय त्मने च).[195] "May we have unfailing strength and progeny" (प्रजावद्रेतो अह्रयं नो अस्तु).[196] "May we, strong in sons and grandsons and endowed with riches, turn you hither to the feast of gods" (आ वां तोके तनये तूतुजानाः सुरत्नासो देववीतिं गमेम).[197] "May I have strong sons," cp. सुवीरः;[198] and "ye, Aśvinā, stimulate out heroic progeny" (वर्धयतमश्विना वीरमस्मे).[199] While he prays for the bestowal of strength, the needs of the day urge the worshipper to seek for क्षत्र (power to rule). "Sprinkle our क्षत्र with ghee and with Madhu" (घृतेन नो मधुना क्षत्रमुक्षतम्).[200] "trengthen our power to rule, strengthen our men" (क्षत्रं जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं नृन्).[201]

But, above all, the characteristic activities of the Aśvinā, as evinced by the many well-known legends, are to rescue those who are in peril of their lives, to restore those who have strayed away, and to help those who in their hour of need invoke their assistance. The most famous of the achievements of the Aśvinā is their rescuing Bhujyu, the son of Tugra.[202] Bhujyu had been abandoned at sea by his father, or, according to another evidence,[203] by his wicked friends. In his helplessness, Bhujyu called on the Aśvinā for aid who indeed accomplished a really heroic exploit in rescuing him under exceptional circumstances. By means of a marvellous fleet of animated, water-tight ships sailing in the air, the rescue of Bhujyu was brought about.[204] According to another version, the Aśvinā used three cars, hundred-footed, drawn by six horses which

195. Ibid. I.183.3, etc.
196. Ibid. VII.67.6.
197. Ibid. VII.67.6.
198. Ibid. I.116.25.
199. Ibid. I.118.2.
200. Ibid. I.157.2.
201. Ibid. VIII.35.17.
202. Cp. Ibid. I.112.6; 116.3-5; 117.14,15; 119.4,8; 158.3; 182.5-7; VII.68.7; 69.7; X.143.5, etc. In *La Religion Vedique*, III, pp. 10ff. Bergaigne interpretes the legend of Bhujyu. But the interpretation seems to be forced and "ingenious."
203. ṚV. VII.68.7.
204. Ibid. I.116.3.

continued to travel for three nights and three days, and brought Bhujyu home.[205] The facts of the legend have indeed greatly impressed the Vedic Ṛṣis. But a far greater impression seems to have been created upon their minds by the circumstances under which Bhujyu is rescued; How on the unstable surface of "the sea, where there is nothing to lean upon, nothing to stand upon, nothing to catch hold of"[206] the Aśvinā could manage to save Bhujyu passes the Ṛṣis' imagination and leaves them wondering for ever.

Atri, a sage had somehow got into an underground pit, a (torture-chamber? as Sāyaṇa says), dark and hot.[207] Yearning to be set free from this forture, Atri invoked the Aśvinā like a woman in distress (नाधमानेव योषा).[208] The Aśvinā ran to his succour, quenched the fire, and caused the heat to subside. After thus warding off the heat with cold, the Aśvinā brought Atri out of the pit—"from distress and darkness you (O Aśvinā) brought Atri out" (निरंहसस्तमसःस्पर्तमत्रिम्).[209] They gave him nourishing food and made him, as well as his following, comfortable.[210]

"Right from the mouth of the wolf, you, heroes, Nāsatyā, rescued the quail" (वर्तिका).[211] Jāhuṣa who had been besieged all round was rescued by the Aśvinā who bore him on their chariot away at night across the mountains.[212] The Ṛṣi Vandana invoked the Aśvinā's help when

205. Ibid. I.116.4.
206. Ibid. I.116.5. Translation by Peterson and Zimmermann, *A Second Selection of Hymns from the Ṛgveda* (Second Selection), p. xx.
207. Cp. ṚV. I.116.8; 117.3; 118.7; 119.6; V.78.4; VII.68.5; 71.5; VIII.73.3, 7, 8; X.39.9, etc. X.143 is mostly occupied with the description of the help given by the Aśvinā to Atri. Atri is identified with Atri Sapta Vadhri, see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 145.
208. ṚV. V.78.4.
209. Ibid. VII.71.5.
210. Ibid. I.116.8.
211. Ibid. I.116.14 also Cp. Ibid. I.112.8; 117.16; 118.8; X.39.13.
212. Ibid. I.116.20; VII.71.5; VI. 62.7 and X.39.13 probably contain references to the rescue of Jāhuṣa.

he had fallen into a pit.[213] The Aśvinā lifted him up by their wonderful powers—a feat which redounds for ever to their glory.[214] Moreover, they lengthened his life, worn as he was with old age.[215] More pitiable was the plight from which Rebha[216] was rescued. "Rebha, who had been ten nights and nine days lying fettered, mangled by the enemy, and falling to pieces in the floods, tied down in the water, him you (O Aśvinā) brought up, like Soma with a ladle.[217] "Śyāva Aucathya who had been rent into three pieces was restored by the Aśvinā to life and vigour.[218] The Ṛṣi was also preserved by the Aśvinā through all his terrible ordeals of fire, water, and a duel with Traitana.[219]

Apart from these victims of violence, many others have been helped by the Aśvinā. With their powers (शचीभिः) the Aśvinā made a barren cow swell with milk for Śayu who had been dying with thirst.[220] Gotama was helped likewise; in order to quench his thirst, the Aśvinā overturned a well, with the bottom on top and the sides slanting.[221] In Śara Ārchatka's well they brought the low water up so that it could be drunk.[222] To Pedu the Aśvinā gave the white serpent-killing horse which was irresistible and victorious in battle.[223] Vaśa was helped to "gain a thousand" (सनये सहस्रा).[224] In response to the prayer of the Ṛṣi Kakṣīvat, the Aśvinā let flow a hundred pots of Surā —or Madhu—from the hoof of the charger.[225]

Besides, the Aśvinā minister to the domestic and

213. Ibid. I.112.5; 116.11; 117.5; 118.6; 119.6, 7; X.39.8.
214. Ibid. I.116.11.
215. Ibid. I.119.6, 7.
216. Cp. Ibid. I.112.5; 116.24; 117.4; 118.6; 119.6; X.39.9.
217. Ibid. I.116.24. Translation from *A Second Selection*, p. XXII.
218. ṚV. I.117.24.
219. Ibid. I.158.4,5.
220. Ibid. I.112.3,16; 116.22; 117.20; 118.8; 119.6; VI.62. 7; VII.68.8; X.39.13.
221. Ibid. I.116.7.
222. Ibid. I.116.22.
223. Ibid. I.116.6; 117.9; 118.9; 119.10; VII.71.5; X.39.10.
224. Ibid. I. 116.21.
225. Ibid. I.116.7; 117.6.

matrimonial happiness of their proteges. To Vimada they brought Kamadyu, the wife of Purumitra, as a spouse.[226] To Sudās they gave Sudevī.[227] Ghoṣā, the daughter of Kakṣīvat, was given a husband by the Aśvinā.[228] As a matter of fact, the Aśvinā's connection with the marriage ceremony is vital. In ṚV.x.85, which contains the description of an ideal marriage, the Aśvinā are stated to have been the वरा.[229] (groomsmen) at the marriage of Sūryā. They are mentioned in most other passages as the husbands of Sūryā. However, their connection with the marriage of Sūryā—and any other marriage, in fact—is seen clearly. Besides, after the marriage ceremony is over, and the bride is about to start for her husband's house, the Aśvinā are prayed to bear her on their chariot to her destination.[230]

Moreover, the Aśvinā lay the germ of life in all female living beings; they further Agni, water, and "the sovrans of the wood" cp. युवं ह गर्भं जगतीषु धत्थो युवं विश्वेषु भुवनेष्वन्तः। युवमग्निं च वृषणावपश्च वनस्पतीँरश्विना वैरयेथाम्.[231] In Ṛc 2 of ṚV.X.184 the whole of which is a charm invoking the blessings of various deities on a woman whose garbhādhāna ceremony is performed, the Aśvinā are requested to lay the germ (गर्भं) in the woman so that she may bear in the tenth month. A collection of three Ṛcas[232] which Sāyaṇa calls the Garbhasrāviṇyupaniṣad has been tagged on to an Aśvinā hymn without any apparent connection. The Tṛca refers to the condition of a parturient woman whose safe delivery is wished for. It would indeed be in perfect harmony with the nature and the activities of the Aśvinā if this Tṛca really has a reference to the Aśvinā; for it is their nature to bestow offspring, e.g., in response to the appeal of

226. Ibid. I.112.19; 116.1; 117.20; X.39.7; 65.12.
227. Ibid. I.112.19.
228. Ibid. I.117.7, etc.
229. Ibid. X.85.9.
230. Ibid. X.85.26.
231. Ibid. I.157.5.
232. Ibid. V.78.7-9.

Vadhrimatī, they gave her a son, Hiraṇyahasta.[233] Another man whose domestic trouble the Aśvinā relieved was Viṣvaka, the son of Kṛṣṇa.[234] "To the helpseeking, praising, straight-acting Viṣvaka, son of Kṛṣṇa, you, O Nāsatyā, did restore Viṣṇāpū, lost as it were like cattle, to see him again."[235]

Besides these legends the main facts of which have been preserved, there are many others which are either obscure because the details which we have of them do not enable us to arrive at an intelligible and consistent conception of the events, or which are fragmentary because in many of these cases we know almost nothing besides the fact that such and such a person was helped by the Aśvinā. ṚV.I.112 is nothing but an index of the legends related about the Aśvinā, and it is in this Sūkta that most of the obscure or fragmentary legends are contained. One such legend is found in Ṛc 4: याभिः परिज्मा तनयस्य मज्मना द्विमाता तूर्षु तरणिर्विभूषति. Griffith, following as he does Sāyaṇa's symbolical interpretation, translates: 'The aids wherewith the Wanderer through his offspring's might, or the Two-Mothered son shows swiftest mid the swift.' Apart from the somewhat untrustworthy nature of this symbolical interpretation, the legend thus interpreted is not quite intelligible. This legend probably contains a reference to a race. Dvimātā (the name of a man), while running at a race, went round (away from the track?); but through the efforts of his son he was able to win and to prove himself the swiftest of all.

233. Cp. Ibid. I.116.13; 117.24; VI.62.7; X.39.7; 65.12.
234. Ibid. I.116.23; 117.7; X.65.12. Although Kṛṣṇa, or his son Viṣvaka is mentioned as the Ṛṣi of ṚV.VIII.85,86, 87, yet there appears to be no reference in these Sūktas to the legend that the Aśvinā restored Viṣṇāpū to Viṣvaka. The refrain in each Ṛc. of Hymn 86, may, but not necessarily, contain a reference to this legend.
235. Ibid. I.116.23. Translation from *A Second Selection*, No. 5.

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Similarly, opinions differ on the meaning of याभिः पठर्वा जठरस्य मज्मना अग्निर्नादीदेच्चित इद्धो अज्मन्ना.[236] Sāyaṇa thinks that Paṭharvan is the name of a Rājarṣi. Benfey says that the word Paṭharvan is a dialectical form of patrārvan (having winged horses), while in the opinion of Ludwig, Sāyaṇa's interpretation is "erroneous and impossible". Ludwig thinks that Paṭharu is the name of a stronghold and consequently translates: 'By means of which (aids), at Paṭharu, through the power of Jaṭhara (violence of the rain clouds) the fire did not flame up though prepared and lighted on the way.'[237] Against Ludwig's interpretation there is this fatal objection that आ (preposition) has, as a rule, got the उदात्त accent, while the division of पठर्वा into पठर आ gives आ (with the अनुदात्त). It is therefore not possible to split पठर्वा which (the whole word) forms the nucleus round which the legend hangs. Again, the interpretation of जठरस्य मज्मना has been a point on which opinion is not unanimous. Ludwig, as we have just seen, considers जठर either as the name of a man, or (to suit his interpretation of the legend) as the rain-cloud. Griffith, after Sāyaṇa, translates जठरस्य मज्मना by "in his majesty of form." Geldner renders the expression as "Kraft seines bauchigen (Wagens?)",[238] 'through the strength of his bigbellied (chariot?)'. In this legend we have, perhaps, the same facts expressed differently as are referred to in ṛc 21 of the same Sūkta, viz., जवे याभिर्यूनो अर्वन्तभावतम्. Paṭharvan, the horse, had lagged behind on account of an empty belly. Through the help of the Aśvinā who gave him a ration his strength and vigour revived, and then off he galloped on the course. Apart from the facts, this interpretation, if tested by the canons of the Alamkāra Śāstra, contains a perfect उपमा; for, the उपमेय has qualifying counterparts to चित

236. ṚV. I.112.17.
237. See Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda* (Transl), Vol. I, Note on I.112.17.
238. Geldner, *Ṛgveda* (transl.) I.1.c.

and इद्ध both of which qualify Agni, the उपमान. It is almost impossible to think that two significant adjectives like चित and इद्ध might have been used with no definite purpose to serve. The idea of the piling up of fire might well have been inspired by Paṭharvan filling his belly with the ration provided by the Aśvinā, and the reviving vigour of the horse might well have reminded the Ṛṣi of the fire that is flaming up.

Equally obscure is the legend of Paura. ṚV.V.74.4 reads: पौरं चिध्दचुदप्रुतं पौर पौराय जिन्वथः। यदीं गृभीततातये सिंहमिव द्रुहस्पदे ॥

This ṛc, says Griffith almost truly, is desperately difficult. Various interpretations are offered, but the best is that of Ludwig who translates: Calling 'Paura' to Paura you saved Paura swimming in the water (him) who had got into an ambush as a lion into captivity.[239]

Of the fragmentary or mutilated type of legends, there are many. In fact, in no less than thirty passages there is almost nothing besides the mere assertion that such and such a person was helped by the Aśvinā, e.g., याभिः कर्कन्धुं वय्यं च जिन्वथः;[240] वसिष्ठं याभिरजरावजिन्वतम्;[241] याभिः पृश्निगुं पुरुकुत्समावतम्;[242] याभिर्वशमश्व्यं प्रेणिमावतम्;[243] याभिः कुत्समार्जुनेयं शतक्रतू प्र तुर्वीतिं प्र च दभीतिमावतम्;[244] याभिर्ध्वसन्तिं पुरुषन्तिमावतम्;[245] याभिः कण्वं मेधातिथिं याभिर्वशं दशव्रजम्। याभिर्गोशर्यमावतं ताभिर्नोऽवतं नरा;[246] याभिः पक्थमवथो याभिरध्रिगुं याभिर्बभ्रुं विजोषसम्[247] and so on. From such simple assertions it is scarcely possible to reconstruct the legends. The उद्देश (enumeration) of these various deeds of the Aśvinā serves only to illustrate what has been said in the foregoing pages with regard to their philanthropic mind.

239. Ludwig, *Ṛgveda* I. No. 45.
240. ṚV. I.112.6.
241. Ibid. I.112.7.
242. Ibid. I.112.9.
243. Ibid. I.112.10.
244. Ibid. I.112.23.
245. Ibid. I. 112.23.
246. Ibid. VIII.8.20.
247. Ibid. VIII.22.10.

An important question about the legends is whether they are to be interpreted allegorically by being explained as referring to some natural phenomenon. Dr. Kuhn, Max Müller, Bergaigne, Benfey and others think that the legends of Rebha, Bhujyu, Cyavāna, Parāvṛj, Vandana, are not simply the narratives of the deliverances of men bearing these names, but they rest on the basis of some natural phenomena; consequently, they attempt to interpret these legends in the light of such natural phenomena which in their opinion underlie them. Almost all the legends are thus explained as embodying some physical phenomena. But this method of interpretation is not universally accepted. Muir remarks, "this method of allegorical interpretation seems unlikely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the phenomena in question should have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances.[248] Keith objects to this allegorical method being applied to every legend because for want of proper critical standards it is impossible to arrive at definite conclusions.[249] Macdonell says that this way of interpretation "seems to lack probability";[250] and to Hopkins "such interpretation often seems fatuous."[251]

This allegorical method of interpretation seems to be unsound, because to try to scent something beneath the surface in each and every legend is to go beyond the psychology of the Vedic legends. For, not all the legends in the Ṛgveda appear to be connected with the natural phenomenon underlying the conception of the deity about whom they are narrated. Let us consider, for example, Indra and the legends related about him. Indra's fight with Vṛtra is a legend in which the element of allegory is beyond question. Indra's greatest deed is the slaughter of Vṛtra,

248. *Original Sanskrit Texts* V. p. 248.
249. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I.pp.116 f.
250. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 53.
251. *Religions of India*, p. 83.

and on this deed of Indra's the Vedic Ṛṣis, when they invoke him, incessantly dwell. Indeed, the contest with Vṛtra is the very backbone of the conception of Indra. Besides this legend, there are many others, all of them narrating events in which Indra displays his great physical strength. Nothing, however, would be more futile than to set out to discover a connection of each of these legends with the natural phenomenon underlying the conception of Indra. Of course, these legends illustrate the nature and the activities of Indra, and by the process of accumulation help us to verify his estimate which we have arrived at on other evidence. But to think that each individual legend embodies in an allegorical form some phase of a natural phenomenon is primarily our conviction that the Vedic Ṛṣis wished to give out their notions of Nature whose various aspects they had been carefully watching; that they picked up—deliberately?—the allegorical method for the purpose (which sounds almost preposterous), and that they thought it best to weave the allegories—mostly round historical persons. In thus attributing calculated allegories to the Vedic Ṛṣis we are hypothecating a stage of mental development not warranted by literary history, and certainly over-stepping the limits of probability. It is well-nigh impossible that the Ṛṣis could have had in mind, while they panegyrized Indra's fight with the Dāsas on behalf of Dabhiti, say, any thing more than meets the eye. What kernel could the Ṛṣi have wished to preserve within the shell of legends like the following: उत त्या तुर्वशा यदू अस्नातारा शचीपतिः। इन्द्रो विद्वां अपारयत्[252] or शतमश्मन्मयीनां पुरामिन्द्रो व्यास्यत्। दिवोदासाय दाशुषे[253] Still less strong is the justification for the application of the allegorical method to the legends about the Aśvinā than to those about Indra. Indeed, there are some legends about the Aśvinā which are narrated quite

252. *Ṛgveda* IV.30.17.
253. Ibid. IV.30.20.

frequently; yet, not one of them strikes us as forming the substratum of the conception of the Āśvinā. Unlike Indra, there is none of the various legends about the Aśvinā which may be said to be the back-bone of their conception. The legends of Bhujyu, Atri and Cyavāna describe the principal activities of the Aśvinā, no doubt; but none of them seems to possess that characteristic note of predominance which is expected of a legend claiming to be acknowledged as an unmistakable guide to the correct interpretation of the deity, and which, for example, is found in the legend of Vṛtra. Further what looks almost surprising is the fact that attempts are made to discover the natural phenomena represented by the legends when in fact not even the foundation on which the conception of the Aśvinā rests has been identified to the satisfaction of all. Under the circumstances what happens is clear enough: Viśpalā is considered to represent the first quarter of the new moon. The Quail (वर्तिका) is understood by Yāska, whom Sāyaṇa quotes in his commentary, to be the Dawn which was caught and swallowed by the Wolf i.e. by the rising Sun; as against this opinion, Benfey considers the quail to be the sun after his setting. In the opinion of Benfey, Parāvṛj represents the setting sun (sideways departing), called 'blind' because his light is nearly gone, and 'lame' because he no longer travels.[254] In the rescue of Bhujyu Bergaigne sees the bringing of Soma from heaven by the Falcon,[255] and so on. For want of a unanimously acknowledged basis (in the form of a natural phenomenon) of the Aśvinā, these various interpretations of the legends seem only so many ingenious adaptations of details to suit the particular theory of interpretation which each interpreter has to advance. Keith's remarks

254. See Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rgveda* (transl.) I. Note on I.112.8.

255. *La Religion Vedique* III. pp. 10, ff.

on this point are quite pertinent: "It is not difficult to interpret them (the legends), but the fatal objection to such attempts is that several ways of interpretation are always open, and that we have no standard of criticism by which to judge of the comparative merits of the different views."[256]

If, on the other hand, the legends are not considered to be conscious efforts on the part of the Vedic Ṛṣis at concealing under the cloak of legends the natural phenomena connected with the Aśvinā, there is no justification for interpreting them allegorically. For, if the legends were not meant by their narrators to contain any hidden significance, we have obviously no warrant for attempting their allegorical interpretation. We would then be exploring the legends and making capital out of apparently similar elements in the legends and the basis on which in our individual opinion the conception of the deities rests. Naturally, such efforts, groundless as they are, will be fruitless, and may even seem "fatuous."

The legends then mostly contain incidents which might have happened to actual persons. Rebha, Vandana, Bhujyu, and others cannot be supposed to allude to the same natural phenomenon "under such a variety of names and circumstances." These are "largely the names of actual persons who were saved or cured in a remarkable manner."[257] The actual incidents may have been common happenings; and it is probable that in course of time they were presented in a magnified form by the worshippers who may have wished quite naturally to attribute to the Aśvinā the most wonderful deeds.

The Vedic Ṛṣis constantly express a desire to be rid

256. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I.p. 117.

257. *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 52, f.

of all hostile beings. They dread their enemies very much, and invoke the Aśvinā so that the Twins may protect them, cp. उत नः परस्पा भूतम्.[258] The Aṣvinā, it is well known, carry their worshippers beyond their enemies, cp. युवं हि रुद्रा पर्वयो अति द्विषः.[259] They go a round to the home of the worshippers, and so safeguard it that no foe, far or near, can break into it, cp. परि ह त्यद्वर्तिर्याथो रिषो न यत्परो नान्तरस्तुतुर्यात्.[260] And it is the human foe which the Ṛṣis seem to dread most. "Leave us not to the hostile man, ye Rudra, rich in strength" मा नो मर्ताय रिषवे वाजिनीवसू परो रुद्रावति ख्यतम्.[261] "Do not hand us over to any unfriendly, aggressive foe" (मा कस्मै धातमभ्यमित्रिणे नः).[262] "Bring us, O Aśvinā, wealth which the evil-tongued human foe, far or near, dare not usurp, you rich in strength" (न यत्परो नान्तर आदधर्षद्वृषण्वसू। दुःशंसो मर्त्यो रिपुः ॥ ता न आ वोळ्हमश्विना रयिं पिशङ्गसंदृशम्).[263] The Ṛṣis, however, are not satisfied with immunity from the vileness of foes. They wish that their foes should not be allowed to live, lest the latter, if alive, should do them harm. सेधतं द्वेषः[264] (destroy those who are hostile); हतं मृधः[265] (strike the enemies); या अरातयः[266] (Ward off whatever is ill-disposed towards us); हतं च शत्रून्[267] (Smite the enemies down). The enemies are not simply those who attack and envy, but also those who whisper about, and thwart others. These too have to be brought to book—which the Aśvinā will do by altogether removing them, cp. युयुयातामितो रपो अप स्रिधः.[268] (May they—the Twins remove from here the whisperers and also those who obstruct). The deep-seated hatred which the Ṛṣi cherishes towards his enemies and the resolute desire to have them dealt with an iron hand are seen in his request: सनुत्येन त्यजसा

258. *Ṛgveda*, VIII.9.11.
259. Ibid. VIII.26.5.
260. Ibid. VI.63.2.
261. Ibid. VIII.22.14.
262. Ibid. I.120.8.
263. Ibid. II.41.8, 9.
264. Ibid. I.34.11. etc.
265. Ibid. I.182.4.
266. Ibid. VIII.9.1.
267. Ibid. VIII.35.12.
268. Ibid. VIII.18.8. Ibid. VI.62.10. Translation from Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, l.c.

मर्त्यस्य वनुष्यतामपि शीर्षा ववृक्तम्[268A] ('Strike off, you Twain, the heads of our assailants who with man's treacherous attack approach us').

Some of the beasts too are a source of trouble and fear to the Ṛṣis; of these the wolf is the worst. One great desire of the worshippers was to have a safe home. Hence, the Aśvinā, whose constant vigilance over the dwellings of their worshippers has earned them the appellation छर्दिष्पा[269] (protectors of homes), are called upon to "grant an inviolable home" (छर्दिर्यन्तमदाभ्यम्),[270] a home not frequented by wolves, cp. प्रास्मै यच्छतमवृकं पृथुच्छर्दिः[271] "Ye Vasu, be our watchful, protectors; save us from the wicked wolf" (ता नो वसू सुगोपा स्यातं पातं नो वृकादघायोः).[272] The wolves are so dangerous and they strike such fear into the heart of the Ṛṣi that in his excitement he has, it seems, either forgotten the divine powers of the Aśvinā or he is unable to persuade himself that the Aśvinā are powerful enough not only to withstand but also to over-power the ferocious wolves; for, inviting as he is the Aśvinā at day-break while the darkness of night is still lingering midst the grey of the morning, he wishes for the safe arrival of the Aśvinā to his sacrifice मा वां वृको मा वृकीरादधर्षीत्[273] (May not the wolf or the she-wolf pounce upon you). Moreover, protection is sought from barking dogs, and requests are made to the Twins to 'crunch up on every side dogs that keep on barking at us' (जम्भयतमभितो रायतः शुनः).[274]

Equally dreadful are the Ṛakṣas and Vṛtra whose annihilation is much insisted upon by the worshippers when they pray to the Aśvinā. हतं रक्षांसि[275] (Strike the Rakṣases down); हता रक्षांसि पुरुदंससा स्युः[276] (May the demons be

268a. Ibid. VI.62.10. Translation from Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, l.c.
269. Ibid. VIII.9.11.
270. Ibid. VIII.5.12; 85.5.
271. Ibid. VIII.9.1.
272. Ibid. I.120.7.
273. Ibid. I.183.4.
274. Ibid. 182.4.
275. Ibid. VIII.35.16.
276. Ibid. VI.62.10.

hunted down, ye with many wonderful powers). The Aśvinā are called रक्षोहणा[277] (destroyers of the Rakṣas). The Ṛṣi demands of the Aśvinā wealth which the Rakṣas cannot venture to attack, cp. अनाधृष्टं रक्षस्विना.[278] Besides, there is Vṛtra[279] which, owing to its hostility to man, the Aśvinā hunt down, and that too so persistently that they are referred to as वृत्रहन्तमा[280] (relentless destroyers of Vṛtra). In thus removing all those who are likely to hurt the worshippers, the Aśvinā seem to have listened to the request: दिवानक्तं माध्वी त्रासीथां नः.[281] (protect us by day and night, you lovers of Madhu).

Another object of dislike and contempt of the Vedic Ṛṣis is the Paṇi[282]—the niggard. The Aśvinā are inclined to further those liberal persons who encourage lavish donations by their wealth, who help their friends with their liberal gifts of horses and cows, cp. असश्चता मघवद्भ्यो हि भूतं ये राया मघदेयं जुनन्ति। प्र ये बन्धुं सूनृताभिस्तिरन्ते गव्या पृञ्चन्तो अश्व्या मघानि[283] It is natural then that whoever wishes that he should be favoured by the Twins must have confidence in them and must offer to them as best he can. This is one of the ways in which to win the heart of the Aśvinā. वयं चिद्धि वां जरितारः सत्या विपन्यामहे.[284] (We, sincere singers, praise you). In this

277. Ibid. VII.73.4.
278. Ibid. VIII.22.18.
279. It is perhaps, the alliance of the Aśvinā with Indra that has brought the enmity with Vṛtra to be attributed to them. The Aśvinā even share with Indra the title वृत्रहन्. It is also remarkable that the Aśvinā too, like Indra, think of destroying Vṛtra after they have quaffed the Soma, cp. ṚV. VIII.9.4. Or, Vṛtra may have come in course of time to be regarded as a general name like Rakṣas.
280. ṚV. VIII.8.9, 22.
281. Ibid. VII.71.2.
282. The Paṇis may have originally been "a tribe which seems to have caused great damage to cattle and other property of the wandering Indians" (*Second Selection*, p. CXII), but it is almost beyond doubt that the word 'Paṇi' came afterwards to mean—as it does in the Aśvinā hymns—a miser who sought to pay or offer inadequately. For the latest pronouncements on the subject, however, see Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I.pp.499 ff.
283. ṚV. VII.67.9.
284. Ibid. I. 180.7.

reference of the Ṛṣi to himself and his colleagues as सत्या जरितारः, सत्याः is much less connected with the head than with the heart. The truthfulness which the Ṛṣi speaks of is, in the context, not so much moral rectitude or honesty in dealing as unstinted sincerity which leavens the worship of the sacrificer. And his sincerity will naturally be expressed by way of lavish offerings and gifts. In order to show that he and his collaborators are no friends of those whom the Aśvinā do not favour, and in order to bring into bold relief the nature of such sceptics, the Ṛṣi adds to वयं चिद्धि वां जरितारः सत्या विपन्यामहे the hint that "the Paṇi is left off" (वि पणिर्हितावान्). As a logical conclusion it follows that the Paṇi, from whom the liberal-minded sacrificers are so persistent in distinguishing and separating themselves, is none other but the man who is too parsimonious to part with what reasonably and justly he should give up; in other words, he is "the miserly offerer", who for this miserliness of his will certainly have to smart. He is an undesirable in the clan so to say, and therefore the other members of the clan threaten him with dismissal and punishment. A Ṛṣi says: अश्विना स्वृषे स्तुहि कुवित्ते श्रवतो हवम्। नेदीयसः कूळयातः पणीँरुत.[285] (Praise well the Aśvinā, O Ṛṣi; do they hear the call? And do they wish to singe the neighbouring niggards?). The worshippers do not stop at such threats. So intent they are on getting the niggards punished that they pray to the Aśvinā straight off to uproot the Paṇis, cp. उत्पणीँर्हृतमूर्म्या मदन्ता.[286]

The prayers to the Aśvinā to uproot the Paṇis, or to "leave the life of the Paṇi to decay," cp. जुरतं पणेरसुम्,[287] would tend to reflect ill on the nature of their activities, if, in response to these prayers, the Aśvinā did uproot the Paṇis, or did leave the life of the Paṇi to decay. The

285. Ibid. VIII.26.10.
286. Ibid. I.184.2.
287. Ibid. I.182.3.

Aśvinā are benevolent deities. True, they are said to punish the man who hates, and to destroy the demons and the wild ferocious wolf. But the wolf and the demons are inherently hostile to man, and the hater is ethically perverse and positively harmful to others. Not so the Paṇi; after all, he is not inherently wicked, nor always harmful. It would seem inconsistent—and, perhaps, unkind too—in the Aśvinā to punish, if at all they do, the niggards in the manner they are requeted to do. These prayers, I think, are to be taken negatively; they are threats expressed directly. They sound a warning to all those who worship that whoever continues to be tightfisted in his sacrifices will be uprooted, nay, he will be left to decay. As a result, the well-arranged—for such it is, cp. अश्विना स्वृषे स्तुहि; also इमां सुवृक्तिं वृषणा जुषेथाम्[288] etc.—worship will be accompanied by rich donations, the sacrificers will be prevented from being parsimonious, and the priests will receive a handsome दक्षिणा.

Indeed, this conclusion is supported by the Ṛk text itself. कस्य ध्वत्रा भवथः कस्य वा नरा राजपुत्रेव सवनाव गच्छथः।[289] (Whose destroyers do you become? Whose libations, O Men, you visit like (two) royal princes?). What would be the effect of these questions on the mind of the यजमान? He would try to know the answers which are only too apparent—in fact, the answers are given in the next ṛc: the Aśvinā visit, like (two) royal princes, the libations of those who offer liberally; and they become the destroyers of those who are stingy in offerings and gifts. These questions then would set the sacrificer a-thinking, and he would be inclined to desist from offering or paying too little. It is to exercise the parsimonious attitude of the sacrificers that the threats are given in so direct and therefore so effective a manner. A conclusive evidence on this point is the prayer: जरेथामस्म-

288. Ibid. VII.73.3.

289. Ibid. X.40.3.

द्वि पणेर्मनीषाम्.[290] (remove from us the thought—mentality?—of the niggard). Here then is given in so many words the purpose of all the prayers to the Aśvinā to punish the Paṇis—to warn the sacrificers against the dangers of being illiberal.

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290. Ibid. III.58.2. Hillebrandt takes मनीषा as "Anschlag" onslaught; see *Vedische Mythologie*, I.p.507. In note i he says "It is impossible to see in this verse whether Paṇi already generally means 'enemy'."

II

The Aśvinā: Their Appearance and Dress

When considering the outward appearance of the Aśvinā, the first point to be enquired into is about their age. How old are the Aśvinā? The answer which the Ṛk text gives to this question is not uniform or homogeneous. Born of old (पुराजा),[1] the Aśvinā may well be called ancient (प्रत्ना);[2] but, be it remembered, they have not grown old. They are अजरयू[3] (undecaying); like wind, they are not subject to the usual influence of time, cp. वातेवाजुर्या.[4] Therefore they are not senile, cp. अजरौ.[5] Although the Aśvinā have grown into youth, they will not grow into old age. The Ṛṣis thus disregard the necessity of being logical throughout, and, naturally, idealize the age of the Aśvinā. To them the Twins are ever young. The uppermost impres-

1. *Ṛgveda* VII.73.1.
2. Ibid. VI.62.5.
3. Ibid. I.116.20.
4. Ibid. I.39.5.
5. Ibid. I.112.9.
6. Ibid. I.117.15; III.58.7; VI. 62.4, etc.

These conflicting views about the age of the Aśvinā need not be construed as evidence on the Vedic mythological history. According to a later Brāhmaṇic and epic tradition, the Aśvinā are the youngest of the gods, perhaps, because they were only latterly admitted to a share in the sacrifice. But there is no warrant for endorsing *a posteriori* conclusion that युवाना in the *Ṛgveda* is used with reference to the Aśvinā in this later sense. Nor should प्रत्ना or पुराजा necessarily indicate the pre-Indian origin of the Aśvinā either.

sion about the age of the Aśvinā on the worshippers' mind is that they are युवाना.[6] Besides, the Aśvinā are अमर्त्या[7] (immortal). Thus, above old age and above mortality, they retain the flower of youth for all times.

The data in the *Ṛgveda* on the various parts of the Aśvinā's body are not sufficient enough to enable us to form a correct picture of the Twins. Only here and there, during our journey through the *Ṛgveda*, we chance upon references to their limbs. In fact, there are scarcely a dozen such references and most of them, it is to be noted, are to their hands. The Aśvinā have good and quick hands, cp. सुपाणी;[8] द्रवत्पाणी.[9] Their hands are auspicious, cp. भद्रहस्ता.[10] Gentle as they might seem, the Aśvinā's hands are strong, cp. वीळुपाणी.[11] It is not without significance that, of all the limbs of the Aśvinā, their hands should have been referred to most often. This is perhaps due to the fact that the hands are instruments of action and therefore indispensable to the Aśvinā whose many deeds are well-known. Or, which seems more likely, the explanation may be this: The Aśvinā are invited by the worshippers to accept their offerings, cp. हव्यानि च प्रतिभृता वीतं नः[12] (and enjoy the offerings we bring to you). These offerings, the worshippers thought, the Aśvinā can accept only with their hands, as they themselves could offer with their hands only. Thus they are inclined to sing praises of the Aśvinā's hands more than of any other part of their body. In the same way, connection with the ritual serves to explain the references to their mouth. Besides accepting the offerings, the Aśvinā drink the Soma at the sacrificer's home. When he invokes the Twins to "come here to drink this soma" आगच्छतामस्य सोमस्य पीतये,[13] the worshipper naturally thinks of

7. RV. VIII.26.17; VII.73.1, etc.
8. Ibid. I.109.4.
9. Ibid. I.3.1. etc.
10. Ibid, I, 109.4,
11. Ibid, VII.73.4.
12. Ibid. VII.68.1.
13. Ibid, I.22.1,

their mouth and sometimes extols it; "have a draught of the Madhu with your mouth accustomed to the drinking of Madhu" मध्वः पिबतं मधुपेभिरासभिः.[14]

Apart from their body in general, and besides their hands and mouth, no other limb of the Aśvinā is referred to — which is not in the least surprising. For, no other limb of their body has a direct connection with the sacrifice; so the Ṛṣis did not attempt its description, nor sang its praise.

Notwithstanding, however, the lack of even so much as a reference individually to most of the limbs of the Aśvinā, their body is stated to be shining with charming elegance, cp. स्पार्हया श्रिया तन्वा शुभाना.[15] The Aśvinā are called ऋतप्सू[16] which Griffith translates as "whose form is perfect." They are free from stains, cp. अरेपसा.[17] Indeed, they are very handsome (पुरुश्चन्द्रा),[18] for their handsomeness suggests their comparison with "two girls, graceful of form" (मेने इव तन्वा शुम्भमाने).[19] Their handsomeness is sometimes described as magnificent and shining, cp. रौद्रौ;[20] also शुभ्रा.[21] It is even stated to be glowing, cp. अर्चिमन्ता.[22] Owing to this dazzling brilliance of their body, it appears to have been found impossible to ascertain what their colour is: They are said to be golden in colour (हिरण्यवेशसा);[23] in another passage their colour is compared with that of Madhu, cp. मधुवर्णा.[24] As is to embrace all possibilities, a Ṛṣi says that the Aśvinā take many forms, cp. पुरू वपांस्यश्विना दधाना[25]. Any way, the Aśvinā are fair of body, cp. वल्गू;[26]

14. Ibid. I.34.10.
15. Ibid. VII.72.1.
16. Ibid. I.180.3. Grassmann (Wb.S.V.) takes *Ṛtapsu* to mean "of beautiful appearance." Geldner (*Ṛgveda* I.) translates it with "Verkoperer der Wahrheit" (personifying Truth.)
17. Ibid. V.73.4. Also cp. VIII.8.9.
18. Ibid. VIII.5.32.
19. Ibid. II.39.2.
20. Ibid. X.61.15.
21. Ibid. VII.68.1; X.143.3.
22. Ibid. X.61.15.
23. Ibid. VIII.8.2.
24. Ibid. VIII.26.6.
25. Ibid. I.117.9.
26. Ibid. VI.62.4; VII.68.4; VIII.87.6.

and fair themselves, they are appropriately called शुभस्पती[27] (lords of splendour).

The Aśvinā are physically strong as well. They are exceedingly mighty, cp. पुरु शाकतमा.[28] Like Indra, they are endowed with powers (शची); their physical strength calls for the compliments शचीवसू,[29] and even शचिष्ठा.[30] The Aśvinā are "mighty like two charioteers" रथ्येव वीरा.[31] None can check the mighty Twins, cp. अधृग्,[32] who are most Indra-like (इन्द्रतमा).[33] Besides शची, they possess दंसना (wonderful power). दस्रा[34] is one of their frequent epithets. With the aid of their wonderful power, and their माया, the Aśvinā carry all before them, cp. जयुषा[35] (conquerors). Naturally, they are lords of men (नृपती),[36] Men par excellence, cp. नरा.[37] वृषणा[38]—another frequently occurring appellation—shows that the Aśvinā possess tremendous vitality and superb physical strength.

About the dress of the Aśvinā we have absolutely no information. The only reference to their dress, if ornaments can be called dress at all, is contained in ṚV.X. 184.2, where the Aśvinā are said to be wearing lotus garlands (पुष्करस्रजा).

27. Ibid. I.3.1; VIII.5.5, etc.
28. Ibid. VI.62.1.
29. Ibid. VII.74.1.
30. Ibid. IV.43.3.
31. Ibid. II.39.2.
32. Ibid. V.73.2.
33. Ibid. I.182.2.
34. Ibid. I.3.3; X.44.6; X.26.1, etc. *Dasrā*, as an appellation of the Twins occurs about 45 times in the *Ṛgveda*.
35. Ibid. X.39.13.
36. Ibid. VII.71.4.
37. Ibid. I.46.4; II.39.8; VII.74.2, etc. The Aśvinā are referred to as *Narā* about sixty times in the *Ṛgveda*.
38. Ibid. I.112.8; IV.14.4; VI. 62.7, etc. This word as an epithet of the Aśvinā occurs about 32 times.

III.

The Aśvinā: Their Food and Drink

अरं गन्तं हविषो वीतये मे[1] (Come soon to partake of my oblations): the main purpose for which the Vedic Ṛṣis invoke the Aśvinā is to entertain them at the sacrificial feasts, and in return to be amply rewarded by the gods. The sacrificial feast to which the Aśvinā are invited consists partly of offerings (हव्यानि). The offerings are thrown into the sacrificial fire which, in its capacity as हव्यवाहन, is understood to carry the oblations to the gods. आ नासत्या गच्छतं हूयते हविः[2] —the Nāsatyā will come and will accept the offerings which are made into the fire on their behalf. Agni, the Feeder, is therefore said to feed the Aśvinā—and all gods, for the matter of that—with oblations, cp. हविषा जारो अपां पिपर्ति पपुरिर्नरा।[3] (The feeder, who loves—or sucks?—water, feeds you with oblations, Ye Men).

The sacrificer prepares the food for the Aśvinā about the time they appear, cp. युवोर्वपुरभि पृक्षः सचन्ते[4] (Food follows your body, i.e. appearance). At the time when the Aśvinā cross over the aerial ocean and come down to the worshipper's abode, cooked food is offered to them, cp. यत्समुद्रातिपर्षथः पक्वाः पृक्षो भरन्त वाम्.[5] The food is mixed with

1. RV. VII.68.2.
2. Ibid. I.34.10.
3. Ibid. I.46.4.
4. Ibid. IV.44.2.
5. Ibid. V.73.8.

ghee (घृताची),[6] and is specially prepared, cp. वस्वीरू षु वां भुजः पृञ्चन्ति सु वां पृचः[7] (They mix together choice dainties and edibles for you). The Twins, who are requested to "come both together to enjoy my offerings",[8] will in response come and will accept the "sacrificial food" (यज्वरी रिषः),[9] for, it is not their nature to reject what has been prepared for them, न संस्कृतं प्रमिमीतः.[10]

It is however not the food but the drink which the Aśvinā are invited chiefly to enjoy. In fact, the draught with which the Aśvinā are entertained has attained to such importance that every other detail of the sacrifice pales into insignificance before it, and, it almost seems, that the sacrificer has no other technical details to go through besides the preparation of the drink. In ṚV. VI.63.3,4, the details of a sacrifice are given in a nutshell: 'the drink has been prepared for you (O Nāsatyā) in a wide room; the sacred grass is strewn, most soft to tread upon. With uplifted hands the worshipper has adored you; the press-stones, yearning for you, have pressed the juice. For you Agni is lifted up at the sacrifice, rich offerings mixed with ghee go forth; up stands the grateful-minded *hotṛ* who has been appointed to invoke you.' From this and from the evidence of the *Ṛgveda* in general, it is seen that the worshipper's invitation to the Aśvinā is not so much an invitation to the sacrifice as that to the sacrificial drink.

The drink to which the Aśvinā are invited is the Soma. The sacrificer, while he extracts the Soma juice, places the Soma plant, which is yellowish (cp. आपीतासः)[11] in colour, on one of the two sacrificial stones and then presses and beats it with the other. As a result, the juice flows from the plant like milk from the udders of cows.[12]

6. Ibid. VI.63.4.
7. Ibid. V.74.10
8. Ibid. VIII.101.7.
9. Ibid. I.3.1.
10. Ibid. V.76.2.
11. Ibid. VIII.9.19.
12. Ibid. VIII.9.19.

The juice is then heated, cp. अतापि घर्मः,[13] and also sweetened, cp. स्वदामि घर्मम्.[14] Before it is used, the juice is consecrated, (स्वाहाकृत).[15] It appears that the Soma juice was left to ferment for a day or two, cp. तिरोअह्न्यम् सोमम्;[16] and then it was quaffed. The Soma juice thus prepared becomes an intoxicant which the sacrificers extol as मधुमत्तम.

The Aśvinā are invited to drink this preparation of the Soma juice, cp. एह गच्छतामस्य सोमस्य पीतये[17]; आयातं सोमपीतये पिबतं दाशुषो गृहे[18] "Aśvinā, your ancient *hotṛ* invokes you hither for the drinking of the sweet Soma" (मध्वः सोमस्याश्विना मदाय प्रत्नो होता विवासते वाम्).[19] "Like a pair of deer, like two wild cattle to the grass, fly, O Aśvinā, hither like two swans, unto the juice we extract" (अश्विना हरिणाविव गौराविवानु यवसम् । हंसाविव पततमा सुताँ उप).[20] "To the Soma juice, you, Aśvinā, go like a pair of buffaloes."[21] While invoking the Aśvinā to the Soma feast, the Ṛṣi grows poetical and says "the Soma juice longing for you has been extracted" (युवाकवः सुताः).[22] "The deliciously sweet Soma yearning for you is here; Aśvinā, partake of it" (अश्विना मधुषुत्तमो युवाकुः सोमस्तं पातम्).[23] The Soma juice is sweet (मधु); it trickles with sweetness (मधुषुत्तमः).[24] Indeed it is so sweet that it can be called मधुमत्तमः[25] Besides being sweet, the Soma is intoxicating. It is said to flow towards the Aśvinā with its मद (intoxicating power).[26] The Ṛṣi Auśij invites the Aśvinā to drink the intoxicating Soma, cp. मदे सोमस्यौशिजो हुवन्ति.[27] "Ye Aśvinā, drink of the gladdening sweet intoxicant we have offered to you, you for whom we long" (अस्य पिबतमश्विना युवं मदस्य चा-

13. Ibid. VII.70.2.
14. Ibid. I.119.2.
15. Ibid. VIII.35.24.
16. Ibid. I.47.1; III.58.7, etc.
The description of the preparation of the Soma given here is necessarily short. For fuller details, see Macdonnel, *Vedic Mythology*, pp.105 ff.
17. ṚV. I.22.1.
18. Ibid. VIII.22.8.
19. Ibid. I.117.1.
20. Ibid. V.78.2.
21. Ibid. VIII.35.7-9.
22. Ibid. I.3.3.
23. Ibid. III.58.9.
24. Ibid. III.58.9.
25. Ibid. I.47.3.
26. Ibid. IX.7.7.

रुणः । मध्वो रातस्य विष्ण्या).[28] The Aśvinā will drink the Soma "boldly" (धृष्णुया);[29] they will indeed drink themselves deep with it, cp. पिबतं च तृप्णुतं च.[30] "Of the sweet juice—dear is it, chiefs, in heaven—drink like two wild bulls at a pool" (मध्वः सुतस्य स दिवि प्रियो नरापातं गौराविवेरिणे).[31] Under the intoxicating influence of the Soma, the Aśvinā protect their worshippers, cp. मदे सोमस्य पिप्रतोः।[32] Inebriated with the Soma, they would destroy the Paṇis, cp. उत्पनी हेतमूर्या मदन्ता.[33] They helped Indra against Namuci only under the influence of what they had drunk.[34]

The worshippers have a good quantity of मधु for the Aśvinā; "here are the offerings (lit. stores or bowls) of Madhu for you, O Wonder-workers (दस्राविमे वां निधयो मधूनाम्)."[35] These the Aśvinā are invited to drink, cp. पिबतं मधु;[36] आयातं मधुपेयमश्विना.[37] The Madhu offered to the Twins is mixed with milk, cp. इमा हि वां गोरजीका मधूनि.[38] The Aśvinā will drink it with their "Madhu-drinking" mouth, cp. मध्वः पिबतं मधुपेभिरासभिः[39] So fond of the Madhu the Aśvinā are that distinct epithets like मधुयुवा[40], माध्वी[41] (both meaning "lovers of Madhu") are often applied to them. Quite proportionate to their fondness for it is the Aśvinā's drinking of Madhu. Their habitual drinking of the Madhu brings the epithet मधुपौ[42] to be applied to them; nay, they are even called मधुपातमा.[43]

Apart from drinking the Madhu at the sacrificer's home, the Aśvinā are connected with it in various other ways. For, they are said to be like Madhu in colour

27. Ibid. I.119.9.
28. Ibid VIII.5.11.
29. Ibid. I.46.5.
30. Ibid. VIII.35.10.
31. Ibid. VIII.87.1.
32. Ibid. I.46.12.
33. Ibid. I.184.2.
34. Ibid. X.131.4.
35. Ibid. I.183.4; III.58.5.
36. Ibid. I.15.11. etc.
37. Ibid. X.41.3.
38. Ibid. III.58.4.
39. Ibid. I.34.10; IV.45.3.
40. Ibid. V.73.8, 9
41. Ibid. IV.43.4; VI.63.8; VII. 67.4. etc.
42. Ibid. I.180.2.
43. Ibid. VIII.22.17.

(मधुवर्णा).[44] Their chariot too is मधुवर्ण[45] and carries Madhu (मधुवाहन).[46] In fact, the chariot is filled with Madhu to its utmost capacity, cp. मध्व आचितम्.[47] It is even said that the Aśvinā carry a skin (दृति) filled with Madhu on their chariot from which they may drink.[48] Their "swans," i.e. the chariot animals, are called मधुमन्तः.[49] Their whip also is मधुमती;[50] with it the Aśvinā sprinkle the sacrifice. They are requested to bedew the sacrifice with Madhu, and also to sprinkle क्षत्र with it.[51] Thus, the Aśvinā's connection with Madhu rests on a wider basis than that with the Soma which, as well as Madhu, they drink. The opinion that "in comparison (with Madhu) they—the Aśvinā—are less vitally connected with Soma, though they are said to drink it at each pressing"[52] may be upheld only if it refers to the Aśvinā's connection with Madhu in general. The connection of the Twins with Madhu is more vital than that with the Soma in the sense that it has evoked special epithets like मधुयू and माध्वी, and that Madhu is connected with them in more ways than the one in which the Soma is.

Hillebrandt[53] has tried to show that the Aśvinā were admitted into the circle of Soma-drinking gods only lately. He bases his view on the legend contained in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* IV.6.2, where it is said that the Aśvinā had at first no share in the Soma, and that being asked to cure the sacrifice, they did so on condition that they would be allowed a share in the Soma drink. He also quotes the legend of Cyavāna as contained in the *Śatapa-*

44. Ibid. VIII.26.6.
45. Ibid. V.77.3.
46. Ibid. I.157.3; 34.2; X.41.2.
47. Ibid. I.182.2.
48. Ibid. IV.45.1; VIII.5.19.
49. Ibid. IV.45.4.
50. Ibid. I.157.4.
51. Ibid. I.157.2.
52. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I. p. 114.
53. *Vedische Mythologie* I.477. For a criticism of Hillebrandt's view that the Aśvinā originally were gods of the lower strata of the population, see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*. p. 92.

tha Brāhmaṇa IV.1,5,1; in this legend the Aśvinā are said to have been refused admission to the sacrifice because they had mixed too much with men. It seems indeed risky to endorse Hillebrandt's view, based as it is chiefly on the evidence of these two legends. For, as regards the evidence of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, how modified and circumstantial the original Vedic legends become in course of time can be seen from Cyavāna's legend itself. Besides, it is not possible to separate the historical from the dogmatical elements in such legends. There is no convincing evidence from the *Ṛgveda* in support of this view. Rather, on the contrary, from the legend of Dadhyañc it would seem that the Aśvinā were told only later what Madhu is. To judge by numerical evidence in the *Ṛgveda*, the Aśvinā are pre-eminently Soma-drinking gods, because they are invited to drink Soma about half as many times again as they are invited to drink Madhu. If, therefore, Hillebrandt's view is accepted, the Aśvinā's exclusion from the Soma-sacrifice must belong at least to the Indo-Iranian period; and for this conclusion the evidence of the later texts is of very doubtful value. Keith has laconically remarked that the proof for this view is rather inadequate.[54] Now, what is Madhu? The word is generally translated as "honey" or "mead". In Oldenberg's opinion by Madhu the morning dew is meant.[55] But it seems improbable that the substance which the Aśvinā are so repeatedly invited to drink should be the morning dew. The one, most constant use to which Madhu is put is neither spraying nor bestowing but drinking. The Aśvinā are invited to drink Madhu in the same way as they are invited to drink the Soma. Like the Soma, therefore, Madhu should have been a substance—a liquid—which

54. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I.p.114.
55. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* p. 207. note.

was generally recognized as drinkable. Hillebrandt[56] thinks that although Madhu in the Veda often obtains the common meaning 'sweetness' which is also applied to Payas, Ghṛta, and Soma, in many places and especially there where the Aśvinā are in question, it must still mean "honey" or at least a drink whose most essential constituent was honey. The Aśvinā, he says, give honey to the bees, cp. मधु प्रियं भरथो यत्सरड्भ्यः;[57] आरङ्गरेव मध्वेरयेथे,[58] युवोर्हं मक्षाः पर्यश्विना मध्वासा भरत निष्कृतं न योषणा.[59] From these passages he concludes that probably even in those passages where the bee is not mentioned, Madhu in connection with the Aśvinā originally meant honey; and that only when they were admitted to the Soma cult Madhu was used in a more general way to signify this drink, viz., the Soma. Now, it does not seem a sound method to draw the above conclusion merely on the strength of isolated passages in the *Ṛgveda* which more or less appear to have the semblance of a legend. But far more doubtful is the value of these legends which, besides occurring in the later Books I and X, are found in *Sūktas* which to all appearances belong to the youngest strata of the *Ṛgveda*. Consequently, their evidence on the history of Vedic ideas requires at least a very careful scrutiny before it can be relied upon. Moreover, although in certain passages of the ṚV. the Soma is said to have been mixed with honey, it is remarkable that in not a single passage with reference to the Aśvinā it is definitely stated that honey is mixed with the Soma.

An analysis of the evidence of the *Ṛgveda* shows that the Soma and Madhu are identical, that the sweetness of Soma juice was so marked, and it attracted the attention of the sacrificers so much that it came through various

56. *Vedische Mythologie* I.477.
57. ṚV. I.112.21.
58. Ibid. X.106.10.
59. Ibid. X.40.6.

stages ultimately to be a synonym of the Soma. And the various stages of its transition are discernible in the *Ṛgveda* itself. The outstanding quality of the Soma juice is its sweetness. In the Aśvinā hymns, when the Twins are invited to drink the Soma juice, the Soma alone is mentioned about thirty times, while it is qualified by the adjective मधु or मधुमत् about twenty-five times. The Aśvinā are invited मध्वः सोमस्य पीतये[60] (to drink the sweet Soma). The same meaning is often expressed by an inversion of the parts of speech; instead of saying— as is done frequently— "पिबतं सोमं मधुमन्तमश्विना",[61] the worshippers invite the Aśvinā to the Soma draught with "पिबतं सोम्यं मधु".[62] Here then is the first departure from the realistic expression मधुमान् सोमः when the same idea is sought to be conveyed by the inverted phrase सोम्यं मधु. In the expression मधुमान् सोमः, सोम is the qualified and मधुमान् is its qualifying adjunct. In the phrase सोम्यं मधु, however, the quality and the qualified have changed places. मधु becomes the centre of importance, or the principal; and the Soma is given only as a qualifying adjective of Madhu. For all the change in the parts of speech, it cannot be denied that the substance referred to by the expressions मधुमान् सोमः and सोम्यं मधु is identical. The *Ṛgveda* contains parallel expressions of both these types: पिबतं सोमं मधुमन्तमश्विना[63] has its counterpart in the inverted phrase पिबतं सोम्यं मधु;[64] मध्वः सुतस्य पातम्[65] contains the same idea in a different garb as does पिबाथ इन्मधुनः सोम्यस्य.[66]

After the sweet quality of the Soma had attained to such prominence in the minds of the worshippers, the next practically inevitable step which they could take in their admiration for the sweet Soma was to mention the Madhu

60. ṚV. VIII 85. refrain.
61. Ibid. VIII.87.4.
62. Ibid. VII.74.2; VIII.8.1, etc.
63. Ibid. VIII.87.4.
64. Ibid. VIII.35.22.
65. Ibid. VIII.87.1.
66. Ibid. IV.44.4.

without its qualifying adjunct सोम्यम् in the very sense of सोम्यं मधु which it originally had. In other words, the Soma had been so incessantly associated with its sweetness that the latter could not help reminding one of the former; and through this constant association of the Soma with its sweetness, it was found possible to identify them. The usually concomitant adjective became so inseparable from the substantive that ultimately it was used as the latter's synonym. Consequently, in passages like मध्वः पिबतं मधुपेभिरासभिः[67] निधिं मधुमन्तं पिबाथः[68] दस्राविमे वां निधयो मधूनाम्,[69] Madhu is only an abbreviation, so to say, of सोम्यं मधु which, being equivalent in substance to मधुमान् सोमः, denotes the well-known Soma juice.

There is another ground on which Madhu has to be identified with the Soma. At the sacrifice, as is well known, it is the Soma juice that is pressed out with the sacrificial stones. The root सु ('to extract') is invariably used in connection with the extraction of the Soma juice.[70] "The watchful, energetic sacrificer with clean hands has extracted the sweet Soma with the press-stones". (निक्तहस्तस्तरणिर्विचक्षणः सोमं सुषाव मधुमन्तमद्रिभिः).[71] "Here has been extracted the exceedingly sweet Soma juice for you, O Strengtheners of Ṛta" (अयं वां मधुमत्तमः सुतः सोम ऋतावृधा).[72] The press-stone is pre-eminently सोमसुत्[73] ('Soma-pressing'). The sacrificers call themselves सुतसोमाः.[74] The same work of extracting the Soma is referred to when the Ṛṣi says पुत्रः कण्वस्य वामिह सुषाव सोम्यं मधु;[75] in this expression Madhu simply cannot mean anything except the Soma juice. Then what is the signification of मधूनि in पिबाथो अस्मे सुषुता मधूनि?[76] It being the Soma juice that is extracted at the sacrifice, it follows that

67. Ibid. I.34.10.
68. Ibid. VII.69.3.
69. Ibid. III.58.5.
70. For a fuller list of passages cp. Gr. Wb.s.v.
71. ṚV. IV.45.5.
72. Ibid. I.47.1.
73. Ibid. VII.68.4.
74. Ibid. I.47.4.
75. Ibid. VIII.8.4.
76. Ibid. VII.67.4.

मधूनि is identical with the Soma. Again, in मध्वः सुतस्य स दिविप्रियो नरा पातं गौराविवेरिणे[77] the meaning of मध्वः सुतस्य (whichever be the substantive) is above ambiguity: it denotes the "sweet extraction" or the "extracted sweetness" which is the Soma juice.

Yet another line of thought goes to confirm the above conclusion. In ṚV.IV.44.3, the various purposes for which the Aśvinā are invoked are briefly stated: को वामद्या करते रातहव्य ऊतये वा सुतपेयाय वार्कैः। ऋतस्य वा वनुषे पूर्व्याय नमो येमानो अश्विनाववर्तत्। (Who, with offerings, calls on you today with his songs for help, or for the drinking of the Soma? Who worshipping you turns you towards himself for an early acceptance of his sacrifice?) One of these purposes is to entertain the Twins with a Soma-drink. The Aśvinā are invited, as we have seen, to the सोमपीति; they are also invited to मधुपेय. As a matter of fact, often in one and the same *Sūkta,* both the Soma and Madhu are mentioned as the draught to which the Aśvinā are invited.[78] Did the sacrificers then offer two different drinks to the Twins? Was the सोमपीति different from the मधुपेय? The answer is given by the distich: इमे हि वां मधुपेयाय सोमाः[79] (These are Somas for you to drink Madhu). Here then we have the evidence of the Ṛgveda which identifies in unambiguous terms the Madhu with the Soma.

After this much has been said about the Madhu, the objection raised against the identification of the Madhu with the Soma on the plea that under such an identification just the character of "honey" remains unexplained[80] will have been answered. The sweetness of the Soma juice which sent the drinkers into ecstasies was considered by the sacrificers, who were naturally inclined to judge

77. Ibid. VIII.87.1.
78. Cp., e.g., Ibid. VIII.8.4 and 5.
79. Ibid. IV.14.4.
80. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda by 207 Note.

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everything according to human standards, to be pleasing to the Aśvinā as well. The Ṛṣis betrayed their conviction that the Aśvinā are extremely pleased with the sweet Soma by attributing to them epithets like माध्वी, मधुयुवा, etc. Once it was recognized that the Twins are specially fond of Madhu, it is not surprising that the worshippers exercised their imagination and visualized that the Aśvinā carry a skin filled with Madhu on their chariot or that their chariot was laden with Madhu. It is also probable that attempts were made to please the Aśvinā by extending the connection of Madhu to things little connected with it; thus their chariot is मधुवर्ण; their animals are called मधुमन्तः, their whip too is मधुमती. And it is interesting to note that the colour of the Twins themselves is once said to be like that of Madhu.[81]

There seems to be no explicit evidence in the Ṛgveda to confirm the view that the Aśvinā are "Surā-drinking" gods,[82] although, of course, they are said to have let flow a hundred jars of Surā for the Ṛṣi Kakṣīvat.[83] But the evidence of this legend showing the Aśvinā's connection with Surā is invalidated by another version of the same legend in which it is said that they let flow a hundred jars of Madhu.[84] Once the Aśvinā are said to have drunk सुरामम्, (cp. सुरामं विपिपाना),[85] by which, however, most probably the Soma is meant.

81. ṚV. VIII.26.6.
82. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I. p. 92.
83. ṚV. I.116.7.
84. Ibid. I.117.6.
85. Ibid. X.131.4. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*; I. pp. 482 f., thinks that Surāma is allied with Surā.

IV

The Aśvinā: Their Relatives, Friends and Associates

Our enquiry into the blood-relations of the Aśvinā must naturally begin with reference to their parents. From their appellation दिवो नपाता[1] it is to be inferred that the Aśvinā are the sons of Dyaus. Their mother is Sindhu as is denoted by their being called सिन्धुमातरा.[2] But there is another view according to which the Aśvinā are the offspring of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū.[3] Twins as they are, their mother has been called यमसूः.[4] The Aśvinā's twin nature is remarkable because they are Twins in spite of the fact that they are born differently (नाना जातौ.)[5] They are also spoken of individually in ṚV. I.181.4. इहेह जाता समवावशीतामरेपसा तन्वा नामभिःस्वैः। जिष्णुर्वामन्यः सुमखस्य सूरिर्दिवो[6] अन्यः सुभगः पुत्र ऊहे॥ Once the circumambient Nāsatya is mentioned alone, cp. परिज्मने नासत्याय[7]. However the Aśvinā are Twins. Born in

1. ṚV. I.182.1; 184.1; X. 61.4.
2. Ibid. I.46.2.
3. Ibid. X.17.2.
4. Ibid. III.39.2.
5. Ibid. V.73.4.
6. Ibid. I.181.4. Although this Ṛc has been interpreted by various scholars, yet it is doubtful whether it has been interpreted satisfactorily. Cp. Geldner, *Ṛigveda* (transl.) I, where he discusses this ṛc. अरेपसा he thinks is not Instru. Sing., but is dual as in ṚV. V.73.4. Sumakha is in his opinion either an earthly king or Indra. But neither of these meanings yields any satisfactory interpretation.
7. ṚV. IV.3.6.

various places they have longed for each other, cp. इहेह जाता समवावशीतम्.[8]

Uṣas is their sister.[9] Quite obviously the daughter of Dyaus (दिवो दुहिता)[10] must be the sister of the sons of Dyaus (दिवो नपाता).[11] The Aśvinā accompany or follow the daughter of Dyaus.[12] Uṣas then is not only their sister, but she is also their friend. "Uṣas became the friend of the Aśvinā" (सखाभूदश्विनोरुषाः).[13] "Indeed, thou art Aśvinā's friend, O Uṣas" (उत सखास्यश्विनोः).[14]

About the Aśvinā's matrimonial connection, however, especially detailed information is found in the Ṛgveda. Their wife is Sūryā, the daughter of the sun. In ṚX.X.85 the Aśvinā are stated to have been the groomsmen of Soma who was the bridegroom of Sūryā.[15] But in other passages Sūryā is said to be the bride of the Aśvinā. The Aśvinā won the hand of Sūryā by being victorious in a race. "That rapid flight of yours, O Men, has been seen whereby you become the husbands of Sūryā."[16] The Aśvinā had yoked their chariot for the pageant[17] which of course was the contest arranged for deciding who should marry Sūryā. Thus it is said that the Aśvinā mounted their car in order to win Sūryā, cp. युवं रथं सूर्यायै तस्थथुः[18] (You two mounted your chariot for Sūryā). When the race was on, they sped their chariot towards the goal, all the while keeping on shout- and cheering up, cp. युवोरश्विना युवायुजं रथं वाणी येमतुरस्य शर्ध्यम्.[19] Whether due to their strength and speed, or owing to the loud cheers of the gods, the Aśvinā came out victorious in the race.[20] Consequently, "Sūrya's daughter mounted

8. Ibid. I.181.4.
9. Ibid. I.180.2.
10. Ibid. I.183.2; IV.52.3, etc.
11. Ibid. I.182.1, etc.
12. Ibid. I.183.2.
13. Ibid. IV.52.2.
14. Ibid. IV.52.3. For the Aśvinā's connection with Uṣas see below pp. 66-72
15. Ibid. X.85.9.
16. Ibid. IV.43.6.
17. Ibid. I.119.5.
18. Ibid. VIII.22.1.
19. Ibid. I.119.5.
20. Ibid. I.116.2.

your car, winning the goal as it were on horseback; all the gods approved of it in their hearts; You, Nāsatyā, are indeed united with fortune".[21] "The youthful daughter of Sūrya, delighting in you, ascended there your car, ye Men."[22] Thus was Sūryā won, and all the aspirations of the Aśvinā were fulfilled, cp. आ यद्वां योषणा रथमतिष्ठद्वाजिनीवसू। विश्वान्यश्विना युवं प्रधीतान्यगच्छतम् ।।[23] When Sūryā mounted the car of her bridegrooms, the red birds kept away the heat, cp. आ यद्वां सूर्या रथं तिष्ठद्रघुष्यदं सदा। परि वामरुषा वयो घृणा वरन्त आतपः।।[24] To their new bride the Aśvinā with their charming glories brought rich gifts (पुष्टि); after them flew their birds, cp. युवं श्रीभिर्वर्शताभिराभिः शुभे पुष्टिमूहथुः सूर्यायाः। प्र वां वयो वपुषेऽनुपप्तन्.[25] The connection which grew up between the Twins and their वधू became so intimate that the Aśvinā have been called सूर्यावसू.[26]

Finally Pūṣan is said to have chosen the Aśvinā as fathers;[27] but, as the passage containing this information occurs in ṚV.X.85 where the marriage of Sūryā is described, it may be, as Griffith suggests, only a courteous way of expressing the close relationship of the Aśvinā and Puṣan at the marriage ceremony.

A glance at ṚV.VIII.35 will show that most of the deities of the Vedic pantheon are invited in company with the Aśvinā to the Soma draught. Among individual deities who are thus invited are Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Uṣas, Sūrya, Mitra, Dyaus and Pṛthivī. Besides, there are the Ādityas, Rudras, Vasus, Maruts and the "thrice eleven gods". Moreover, the Ṛṣi invites the Bhṛgus, the Ṛbhus and the Aṅgirases. In this hymn the Aśvinā are brought into association with deities with most of whom they are invited in other *Sūktas* to drink the Soma. In the hymns

21. Ibid. I.116.17.
22. Ibid. I.118.5.
23. Ibid. VIII.8.10.
24. Ibid. V.73.5.
25. Ibid. VI.63.6.
26. Ibid. VII.68.3.
27. Ibid. X.85.

addressed to the Viśvedevā, the Aśvinā are invited together with other deities to the Soma feast about twenty times. They are asked to come together with the thrice eleven gods to drink Madhu, cp. आ नासत्या त्रिभिरेकादशैरिह देवेभिर्यातं मधुपेयमश्विना.[28] The thrice eleven gods are not simply Aśvinā's friends sitting at the same table. They are said to have witnessed the Aśvinā "in front of the truthful one (i.e. the sun)", cp. युवां देवास्त्रय एकादशासः सत्याः सत्यस्य ददृशे पुरस्तात्.[29] The Aśvinā do not appear to have come into any conspicuous connection with gods like Mitra, Bhaga, Aryaman, Bṛhaspati, the Ādityas, the Bhṛgus and the Maruts, although they are invoked with most of these deities. Although they are supposed to be in one dwelling place with Vāyu,[30] although they are mentioned as companions of the Ādityas and the Ṛbhus, and although they are called मरुत्वन्ता,[31] ऋभुमन्ता,[32] and मित्रावरुणवन्ता,[33] yet it cannot be gainsaid that the connection with all these deities is only superficial. It might be due, perhaps, to some convention that all deities may be brought into mutual association at the sacrifice. For example, Varuṇa is invited in company with the Aśvinā and Uṣas to drink the Soma; this connection is exalted into friendship by the Ṛṣi who says पिबतु सोमं वरुणो धृतव्रतो अश्विभ्यामुषसा सजूः.[34]

More palpable is the Aśvinā's connection with Viṣṇu. They are invited with him to the Soma feast. They are also called विष्णुवन्ता.[35] They are said to stay in the striding places of Viṣṇu, cp. यद्वा विष्णोर्विक्रमणेषु तिष्ठथः.[36] Once the Aśvinā are stated to obey the will of Viṣṇu.[37] Their connection with Pūṣan has been discussed above. At the time of Sūryā's marriage, Pūṣan seems to have come into some

28. Ibid. I.34.11.
29. Ibid. Val. 9.2.
30. Ibid. VIII.9.12.
31. Ibid. VIII.35.13-15.
32. Ibid. VIII.35.15.
33. Ibid. VIII.35.13.
34. Ibid. I.44.14.
35. Ibid. VIII.35.14.
36. Ibid. VIII.9.12.
37. Ibid. I.156.4.

marked connection with the Aśvinā, cp. श्रिये पूषन्निषुकृतेव देवा नासत्या वहतुं सूर्यायाः.[38] The Ṛbhus who are sometimes mentioned with the Aśvinā, have fashioned the latter's chariot,[39] and thus have a distinct claim on their acquaintance. It is not certain whether the two epithets of the Aśvinā—रुद्रा[40] and वसू[41]—have any particular connection with the classes of gods of the same name. The Aśvinā enjoy the sacrifice in company with the Ṛtus, cp. ऋतुना यज्ञवाहसा.[42] They are invited to come thrice together with the Sindhus, the seven mothers.[43] Hence their title सिन्धुवाहसा.[44]

Savitṛ is connected with the Aśvinā partly as a companion at the Soma feast, but chiefly because he heralds the time of coming of the Aśvinā. When Savitṛ raises the light or the "banner" (केतु) on high,[45] it is understood that it is high time for the arrival of the Twins. The same idea is expressed in a different manner also. Because the Aśvinā come when Savitṛ heralds their time, Savitṛ, so a Ṛṣi thinks, sends out the car of the Aśvinā, cp. युवोर्हि पूर्वं सवितोषसो रथमृताय चित्रं घृतवन्तमिष्यति.[46]

Those with whom the Aśvinā have come into a close connection are Sūrya, Indra, Agni and Uṣas. Sūrya's intimate relation with the Twins can be gauged from the fact that in the refrain of the first twenty one *Ṛcas* of ṚV. VIII, 35, the Aśvinā are invoked सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण च. Sūrya's connection like that of Savitṛ, seems to rest on his contemporaneity—to use the word in a broad sense—with the

38. Ibid. I.184.3.
These two lines are variously interpreted. The difficulty seems to emanate from the word 'Nāsatyā' whose natural accent is identical with the accent required here by the Vocative. It is better to take the word as Acc. dual., and supply a verb.
39. Ibid. I.20.3; IV.36.2, etc.
40. Ibid. I.158.1; II.41.7; V.73.8; 75.3; VIII.22.14; 26.5.
41. Ibid. I.158.1, 2; 120.7.
42. Ibid. I.15.11.
43. Ibid. I.34.8.
44. Ibid. V.75.2.
45. Ibid. IV.13.2; VII.72.4; cp. also IV.14.2.
46. Ibid. I.34.10.

Aśvinā's arrival. A Ṛṣi describes the time of the Aśvinā's coming in the following manner: अबोध्यग्निर्ज्म उदेति सूर्यो व्युषाश्चन्द्रामह्यावो अर्चिषा.[47] The Chief claim of Sūrya to his connection with the Aśvinā, however, rests on the fact that he is their father-in-law. Sūryā, his daughter, often mentioned as सूर्यस्य दुहिता, chose the Aśvinā as husbands, thus creating a relationship between Sūrya and the Aśvinā.

Indra is an ally of the Aśvinā. His friendship with the Twins is of a tangible character; for, owing to his warlike spirit, he espouses the cause of the Aśvinā's proteges and thus helps the Aśvinā in their activities.[48] Their alliance however is not unilateral in the sense that one of the parties should always be the receiver, the other always a giver, of assistance. The Aśvinā too helped Indra when he had to face the Asura, Namuci. Their mutual friendship has grown to such an extent that they—Indra and the Aśvinā—travel in one and the same chariot, cp. यदिन्द्रेण सरथं याथः.[49] The Aśvinā are even called इन्द्रतमा[50] (most Indra-like). Owing to their very close connection, Indra and the Aśvinā are mentioned together in one compound word, इन्द्रनासत्या.[51] It is natural that, intimate friends as they are, they should be invited to drink the Soma in the company of one another.

47. Ibid. I.157.1.
48. See above p. 41
49. ṚV. VIII.9.12.
50. Ibid. I.182.2.
51. Ibid. VIII.26.8.

If the cpd. is a *Dvandva*, then the word should be इन्द्रानासत्या. But metrical necessity may be responsible for the shortening of न्द्रा into न्द्र. Secondly, if it is a *Dvandva* cpd., the verb should be in the plural, because Indra and the two Nāsatyā make three in number. The verb however, is in the dual, cp. इन्द्रनासत्यागतम्. Or, is only one Nāsatyā referred to in the cpd.? Or, again, have we to take इन्द्र as an adj. of the Nāsatyā in the sense of "Indra-like"? cp. इन्द्रतमा.

This word occurs in tablets discovered by Hugo Winckler at Boghazkoi in Asia Minor, and therefore dates back to 1400-1200 B.C. See Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I. p. 87. N.

Agni's connection with the Aśvinā is mainly of a sacrificial character. When the gods are invoked, the sacrificial fire is kindled up. So, Agni too has become more or less a herald of the time of the Aśvinā's coming. Often the sacrificers invoke the Aśvinā for "Agni has been kindled",[52] "the fires piled up with fuel roar loudly".[53] Like Uṣas and the Sun, Agni is the standard by which to judge the time of the arrival of the Twins.

52. ṚV. I.157.1.
53. Ibid. IV.45.4.

V

The Aśvinā: Their Locality

If we analyse the evidence of the Ṛgveda for the locality of the Aśvinā, it becomes apparent to us that like all travellers they have the starting point or the place from which they start on their journey, the distance through which to travel, and finally the destination. Except in a passage or two, e.g. वावसाना विवस्वति[1] (dwelling in Vivasvat), throughout the Ṛgveda the Aśvinā appear, directly or indirectly, to be continually travelling. In ṚV. VIII. 29 where the outstanding characteristics of various deities are given by way of enigmas, the Aśvinā are characteristically described as "two moving about with birds together with one (maiden); like travellers they journey on".[2] Their epithet "coursing round" (परिज्मन्)[3] also shows the same trait of the Twins. As they are habitual travellers, it is difficult to say for certain where exactly at a particular moment they may be. The Vedic Ṛṣis themselves have had to face this difficulty in spotting the Aśvinā's whereabouts. They indeed enquire: "Where are you?" (कूष्ठः).[4] Where are the two fair ones?" (क्व त्या वत्नू).[5] "Where are you? Where did you go? Where like two falcons did you fly?" (कुहस्थः कुह ज-

1. ṚV. I.46.13.
2. Verse 8.
3. ṚV. I.46.14.
4. Ibid. V.74.1.
5. Ibid. VI.63.1. cp. V.74.2.

मधुः कुह श्येनेव पेतथुः).[6] etc. So uncertain are the Aśvinā's whereabouts on the one hand, and on the other, to so many persons they listen and give help that the worshippers chose the easiest way of explanation as regards the locality of the Twins and brought themselves to believe that they exist in many places (पुरुभूतमा).[7] While praying, therefore, the devotees remained undismayed at the indefiniteness of the wanderings of the Twins, and invited them to come from wherever they are: यदद्य कर्हिकर्हिचिच्छ्रुथ्यातमिमं हवम्[8] (Wherever you are at present, hear this call); अश्विना यद्वकर्हिचिच्छ्रुथ्यातमिमं हवम्[9] (In whatever place you are, hear this call, O Aśvinā). This indefinite but quite comprehensive idea about the Aśvinā's whereabouts is often expressed by way of various surmises. Thus they are invited to come, whether they are in a far away place, or in the sky, cp. यन्नासत्या परावति यद्वास्थो अधि अम्बरे। अत आयातम्॥[10] "Come to us from the great mountain, from waters, O Aśvinā, bringing nourishing food" (आ नो बृहतः पर्वतादाद्भ्यो यातं इषमूर्जं वहन्ता).[11] "Whether you are flying in the sky or along heaven and earth, whether you are riding on your chariot through your inherent powers, come thence, O Aśvinā".[12] "Whether, at this time, you are at a distance or in the vicinity, or in many places, or in the spaces, you, protectors of many, come".[13] In fact, they are asked to "come to us from the West, the East, from the South and from the North."[14]

However it seems that, when they are invoked by the worshippers, the Aśvinā are mostly in Dyaus (the sky) or they are on a visit to some sacrificer's home. For, the devotees often request them to come from either of these places. "Whether you are in the ocean of the sky, or whether you

6. Ibid. VIII.73.4.
7. Ibid. V.73.2; VIII.22.3, 12.
8. Ibid. VIII.73.5.
9. Ibid. V.74.10.
10. Ibid. VIII.8.14.
11. Ibid. V.76.4.
12. Ibid. VIII.10.6.
13. Ibid. V.73.1.
14. Ibid. VII.72.5; 73.5. cp. VIII. 10.6.

revel in a home full of food, hear me, O Immortal ones."[15] "Where, with what clans do the two Wonder-workers rejoice today?"[16] "Whether you are in a great mansion, or in the brilliance of the sky, or whether you are in a dwelling erected in the ocean, thence come, O Aśvinā" (यत्स्थो दीर्घप्रसद्मनि यद्वादोरोचने दिवः। यद्वा समुद्रेऽध्याकृते गृहेऽत आयातमश्विना ॥)[17] "Whether you are with Druhyu, Anu, Turvaśa, or Yadu, I call on you; come, therefore, O Aśvinā, rich in strength"[18] etc.

In response to these invitations the Aśvinā visit the dwellings of their worshippers. But moving as they are from one place to another here, there, and everywhere, they have a long way to travel before they reach their destination, cp. विभुर्वां यामः.[19] Their path is shining, cp. रुद्रवर्तनी,[20] or golden in colour, cp. हिरण्यवर्तनी;[21] and it lies through the aerial regions, cp. पथेव यन्तावनुशासता रजः[22] (Going, as it were, by a path leading through the spaces). The Aśvinā travel by paths which gods are wont to go by (पथिभिर्देवयानैः).[23] They are asked to come to their worshippers by the "paths of *Ṛta*"[24] or "flights of *Ṛta*".[25] But the Aśvinā's choice of paths cannot be restricted; for, they visit the worshipping clans, going by whichever path they like, cp. कुत्राचिद्याममश्विना दधाना.[26] On the way to their destination, they have to cross the airy regions. "Across many spaces, ye Aśvinā, come hither by paths by which the gods travel".[27] "Your chariot swift like thought hurries on across the regions on its way to us, ye to whom Sūryā is dear".[28] To cross the aerial expanse the Aśvinā do not take long. In fact, they go round the regions briskly, cp. सद्यः परि रजांसि याथः.[29] Besides the spaces, the

15. Ibid. VIII.26.17.
16. Ibid. X.40.14.
17. Ibid. VIII.10.1.
18. Ibid. VIII.10.6.
19. Ibid. I.34.1.
20. Ibid. I.3.3; X.39.11, etc.
21. Ibid. VIII.8.1; 87.5, etc.
22. Ibid. I.139.4.
23. Ibid. III.58.5.
24. Ibid. VIII.22.7.
25. Ibid. VIII.8.23.
26. Ibid. VII.69.2.
27. Ibid. III.58.5.
28. Ibid. VII.68.3.
29. Ibid. IV.45.7.

Aśvinā have to cross seas and rivers, cp. यो वां समुद्रान्सरितः पिपर्ति[30] A *ṛc* vividly describes the Aśvinā's course: ता यज्ञमा शुचिभिश्चक्रमाणा रथस्य भानुं रुरुचू रजोभिः। पुरूवरांस्यश्विना मिमाना अपो धन्वान्यति यातो अज्रान् ॥[31] (They two, coming to the sacrifice, illumined the splendour of their car with the shining spaces. Traversing many immeasurable expanses, you twain cross over waters and deserts and wastes). In brief, "ye wonder-workers, you fly round everything with your speedy animals".[32] Naturally, they go round the earth,[33] or round the Sun in the distance.[34] But, above all, the worshippers are insistent on the Aśvinā's passing by one place—the dwelling of another sacrificer.

The destination of the Twins is almost invariably the worshippers' abodes where prayers are offered to them, and where they are entertained with *haviṣ* and the exhilarating Soma. The burden of all the Aśvinā hymns is an invitation to the Twins to come to the offerer's house, to accept his prayers and offerings, and to bless him in return.

30. Ibid. VII.70.2.
31. Ibid. VI.62.2.
The first two pādas of this *ṛc* are not very clear. Sāyaṇa interprets रजोभिः as तेजोभिः. May be, there is an inversion of cases, भानुं रजोभिः being used in place of भानुना रजांसि. Grassmann takes this view and translates: durchdrangen mit des wagens Glanz die luft sie. —*Rigveda* (*Ubers.*), p. 290. Or चक्रमाणा may be taken with रजोभिः cp. यातं पथिभिर्देवयानै : but the analogy cannot be pressed too far, because पथिभिः is a करण, while रजोभिः is an अधिकरण.
32. Ibid. VIII.26.6.
33. Ibid. I.34.7.
34. Ibid. I.112.13.

VI

The Aśvinā: The Time of Their Coming

"Thrice do you come at night, and thrice by day";[1] "Give us by day and night";[2] "Protect us day and night, Ye lovers of Madhu."[3] These passages would have us believe that the Aśvinā look after their worshippers day and night and that, therefore, they must have to come to the worshippers' abodes at all times of the day and the night. The Aśvinā are indeed requested to visit the dwelling of the sacrificer "in early morning when cows flock together, at noon, at sunrise, at night and by day with auspicious help".[4] "With offerings we call on you in the morning and at night".[5] On the strength of these passages, however, it should not be concluded that the Aśvinā's time of coming is any hour out of the twenty-four. A careful scrutiny of the evidence of the *Ṛgveda* shows that the element of time has been considered from two different standpoints, viz., the time when the Aśvinā come; and secondly, the time during which their protection is sought and received by the devotees. The passages quoted above and all other similar ones really have no bearing on the time of the Aśvinā's coming. In these passages are contained the soli-

1. ṚV. I.34.2.
2. Ibid. I.139.5.
3. Ibid. VII.71.2.
4. Ibid. V.76.1.
5. Ibid. X.40.4.

citations for divine protection of human beings who owing to their inherent weak nature suspect some danger or obstruction at every step. "Protect us day and night, O Lovers of Madhu" (दिवानक्तं माध्वी त्रासीथां नः[6]), "Day and night keep away the arrow from us" (दिवानक्तं शरुमस्मद्युयोतम्),[7] "Give us day and night" (दिवानक्तं दशस्यतम्)[8]— while interpreting all such passages, it becomes clear to us that the worshippers had both their eyes on themselves and their own happiness when they demanded help दिवानक्तम्. They wanted—naturally enough—the Aśvinā's protection for all time; and to that effect they prayed to them, unmindful of the time of coming of the Twins. Consequently, the passages in which the Aśvinā are so invited have no relation to their time of coming and cannot therefore be treated as evidence for the time of the appearance of the Aśvinā.

A Ṛsi asks: कदा योगो वाजिनो रासभस्य येन यज्ञं नासत्योपयाथः[9]: (When will the strong ass be yoked, with which, O Nāsatyā, you go to the sacrifice?). The answer to this question is given by the Aśvinā's epithet प्रातर्युजा.[10] They yoke their chariot for going when Agni is kindled, the Sun rises from the earth, when Uṣas, shining and great (wide?) breaks forth, and when god Savitṛ impels the living world, cp. अबोध्यग्निर्ज्म उदेति सूर्यो व्युषाश्चन्द्रा मह्यावो अर्चिषा। आयुक्षा तामश्विना यातवे रथं प्रासावीद्देवः सविता जगत्पृथक् ॥[11] The time of their coming is broadly defined by their being frequently called प्रातर्यावाणा.[12] From morning to morning the Aśvinā go to the sacrificer's home, cp. वस्तोर्वस्तोर्यजता गच्छथो गृहम्.[13] Therefore the proper time for invoking them is the morning हवामहे प्रातरश्विना;[14] "You, Aśvinā, I call with offerings at the shining of the latest dawn" हुवे हि वामश्विना रातहव्यः शश्वत्तमाया उषसो व्युष्टौ).[15]

6. Ibid. VII.71.2.
7. Ibid. VII.71.1.
8. Ibid. I.139.5.
9. Ibid. I.34.9.
10. Ibid. I.22.1, etc.
11. Ibid. I.157.1.
12. Ibid. V.77.1; II.39.2, etc.
13. Ibid. X.40.3.
14. Ibid. VII.41.1.
15. Ibid. I.118.11.

"Worship first the Twins faring at daybreak; for the Aśvinā accept the sacrifice in the morning."[16]

Besides this broad outline of the time of the Aśvinā's appearance, the *Ṛk* text enables us to ascertain their relative time with reference to dawn and sunrise. An examination of the time of the Aśvinā's coming relatively to Uṣas (dawn) shows that Uṣas is not a finished, or stationary phenomenon, but a phenomenon in transition. Uṣas is seen to represent the ever-changing natural phenomenon taking place in the interval between the time when the first ray of light strikes the darkness of night and the time just before sunrise. And in the Aśvinā hymns all the various stages in the passage from darkness into light are described by way of the time of the appearance of the Twins. In order to invoke the Aśvinā, the worshipper has to rise before daybreak, (cp. एष स्य कारुर्जरते सूक्तैरग्रे बुधान उषसां सुमन्मा)[17] for, the Aśvinā are invoked when the night ends (cp. तावामद्य हवामहे अतिक्षपः).[18] That the Aśvinā move about when dawn begins may be seen from युवोर्हि पूर्वं सवितोषसो रथमृताय चित्रं घृतवन्तमिष्यति[19] (For *Ṛta* — i.e., in order to obey *Ṛta* — Savitṛ will send, before Uṣas, your car variegated and fraught with ghee). This indeed is the time for invoking the Twins, "who desire, at the shining of morning dawn, to separate the ends of the earth and the spacious regions" (या सद्य उस्रा व्युषिज्मो अन्तान्युयूषतः पर्युरू वरांसि).[20] The "separating of the ends of the earth and the spacious regions" is the gradually growing visibility, at the earliest flush of dawn, of the horizon which, as a matter of fact, is a blending of "the ends of the earth and the spacious (aerial) regions." The same idea is contained in the distich: अचेति दस्रा व्युनाकमृण्वथः[21] (It is well known, ye wonder-

16. Ibid. VII.77.1.
17. Ibid. VII.68.9.
18. Ibid. VIII.26.3.
19. Ibid. I.34.10.
20. Ibid. VI.62.1.
21. Ibid. I.139.4.

workers, that you open heaven). When the undisputed reign of darkness ends, and the dusk of the morning begins to spread far and wide, the sky being now distinguishable from the earth begins to assume a mellow but majestic grandeur. This gradual brightening up of the sky, especially in the East, is called in Vedic mythological terminology the "opening of heaven". This phenomenon is ascribed to the Aśvinā who are indeed said by way of an epigram to "come in order to brighten" (श्वेतनाय व्यन्ता).[22] When the worshipper requests the Twins to "divide the paths for gain" (वि पथः सातये सितम्),[23] he seems to be asking for the pitchy darkness of the night being ended, and wishing for the first flush of the morning light which, by making everything discernible, will enable all to follow their various pursuits. This *Pāda* cannot be taken to refer to a later stage in the morning phenomenon, because in that case "the paths" would have already been "divided" by the preceding stages. Bringing the light of the coming day, the Aśvinā are aptly called "finders of day" (अहर्विदा),[24] and "finders of light" (स्वर्विदा).[25]

"Night gives way to her sister Uṣas; the dark (female) makes room for the red (male). You, liberal in horses and cows, we invoke" (अपस्वसुरुषसो नग्जिहीते रिणक्ति कृष्णीररुषाय पन्थाम्। अश्वामघा गोमघा वां हुवेम).[26] 'While the dark (night) still lingers amidst the ruddy cows (i.e. the morning dusk), I call on you, Aśvinā, Sons of Dyaus' (कृष्णा यद्गोष्वरुणीषु सीदद्दिवोनपाता अश्विना हुवे वाम्).[27] In these passages the morning phenomenon is described in an advanced stage; as the night continues to melt, the horizon grows clearer and clearer. Thus "the path of *Ṛta* safe to travel has been (made) for going to the other side; the road of heaven is manifested

22. Ibid. I.122.4.
23. Ibid. VIII.5.9.
24. Ibid. VIII.5.9, 21.
25. Ibid. VIII.8.7.
26. Ibid. VII.71.1.
27. Ibid. X.61.4.

distinctly" (अभूदुषारमेतवे पन्था ऋतस्य साधुया। अदर्शि वि स्रुतिर्दिवः॥).[28] Stated in other words the *ṛc* means: in obedience to the Cosmic Order which governs all natural phenomena, the morning light has begun to dispel the nocturnal darkness which in consequence changes into crepuscular dimness. The horizon becomes visible, and the sky can be clearly distinguished from the earth. एषो उषा अपूर्व्या व्युच्छति प्रिया दिवः। स्तुषे वामश्विना बृहत्॥[29] (There shines the early dawn dear to Dyaus. I praise you loudly, O Aśvinā). It would indeed be risky to attach much significance to the sequence of facts in this *ṛc*; but, on the other hand, it is clear that the worshipper invokes the Aśvinā, when the darkness of night has already begun to be dispelled. At this time "the three places of the Aśvinā, concealed so long, become manifest. Come, (therefore) you two wise ones, hither, with the flights (or wings?) of *Ṛta*, to all living beings": त्रीणि पदान्यश्विनोराविः सन्ति गुहा परः। कवी ऋतस्य पत्मभिरर्वाग्जीवेभ्यस्परि॥[30]

In the third stage the morning light has overpowered the darkness. It has ceased to be mellow, and begun to be bright. Uṣas too is no longer grey; she is now spoken of as brilliant and variegated. अभूदुषा रुशत्पशुरग्निरधायि ऋत्वियः। अयोजि वां वृषण्वसू रथो दस्रावमर्त्यः॥[31] दूरादिहेव यत्सत्यरुणप्सुरशिश्वितत्। वि भानुं विश्वधा तनत्॥[32] (Being here close by, as it were, the red dawn has shone forth from a distance; she has spread light everywhere). "Uṣas has become red in colour. She obeying *Ṛta* spread the light."[33] "Uṣas, variegated like a mare, red, obeying *Ṛta*, has become the Aśvinā's friend, she the mother of kine".[34] "There bursts forth the brilliance; the circum-

28. Ibid. I.46.11.
29. Ibid. I.46.1.
30. Ibid. VIII.8.23.
Sāyaṇa understands the three wheels of the Aśvinā's chariot by त्रीणि पदानि. This is wrong, because at sunrise one of the wheels vanishes. See below pp. 74-75. cp. ṚV. X.85.15. Griffith is correct in interpreting the "three places" as "heaven, firmament, and earth"
31. Ibid. V.75.9.
32. Ibid. VIII.5.1.
33. Ibid. VIII.73.16.
34. Ibid. IV.52.2.

ambient chariot is yoked on the summit of this heaven" (एष स्य भानुरुदियर्ति युज्यते रथः परिज्मा दिवो अस्य सानवि।).[35] In these passages the solar phenomenon is drifting gradually towards sunrise. The last quotation indicates the first signs of sunrise, viz. the flaming splendour on the Eastern horizon. The continually shifting colours of dawn slowly crystallizing into the dazzling luminosity of the approaching sunrise cannot help affecting, in a greater or smaller degree, the splendour of the Aśvinā. युवं श्रियमश्विना देवता तां दिवो नपाता वनथः शचीभिः।[36] (You attain to that splendour through your godhead and your powers, Ye Sons of Dyaus)—this shows that the Aśvinā have gained in splendour which is wellknown or which is very attractive (तां श्रियम्). Probably, तां श्रियम् refers to the brilliance which pervades the East when the sunrise is at hand. The Vedic Ṛṣis have their own way of explaining the Aśvinā's attaining to "that splendour"; they explain it as being due to the Aśvinā's godhead and their powers. Perhaps, they thought as well that the Divine Pair would not borrow their splendour from others; nor would they imitate. Viewing at the same time the gorgeous magnificence of Uṣas, the Ṛṣis thought that the splendour of Uṣas was derivative. Uṣas, in their opinion, came to her splendour only after (or in imitation of ?) the splendour of the twin Travellers, cp. युवोरुषा अनुश्रियं परिज्मनोरुपाचरत्।[37]

The final stage extends upto sunrise. Uṣas is now mentioned together with Sūrya. The sunrise being imminent at this stage, the Aśvinā are invited to "come together with the rays of the sun" (आगतं साकं सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिः).[38] A circumstantial description of all the phenomena that take place when the Aśvinā come is given in ṚV. I.157.1: "Agni has been kindled; the sun rises from the earth; the great, brilliant Uṣas has broken into flames; the Aśvinā

35. Ibid. IV.45.1.
36. Ibid. IV.44.2.
37. Ibid. I.46.14.
38. Ibid. I.47.7.

have yoked their car for moving abroad; god Savitṛ has impelled the moving beings into different ways." A parallel passage reads: प्रत्यग्निरुषसामग्रमख्यद्विभातीनां सुमना रत्नधेयम् । यातमश्विना सुकृतोदुरोणमुत्सूर्यो ज्योतिषा देव एति ॥[39] Elsewhere the time is thus described: "Agni, enkindled by us, has shone forth. The ends of darkness have been seen. In the East the Banner of Uṣas is manifest, springing forth for the glory of the Daughter of Dyaus".[40] It follows from the evidence of these passages that the Aśvinā are invoked at the latest upto sunrise; and this conclusion is attested by a ṛc which is a little enigmatical: युवां देवास्त्रय एकादशासः सत्याः सत्यस्य ददृशे पुरस्तात्.[41] (The thrice eleven truthful gods saw you—the Aśvinā—in front of the truthful One i.e. the sun).

The Aśvinā, then, are connected with Uṣas in all her stages. The views of the Vedic Ṛṣis are not quite uniform on the connection between the Aśvinā and Uṣas; this is in fact no more than what might be expected after what has been said above. According as the particular stage out of the four is taken by individual worshippers as the time of the Aśvinā's appearance, their relation with Uṣas changes. If, for instance, the Aśvinā are understood to come during the first stage, then Uṣas may be said to be just beginning to shine, cp. ता वामद्य तावपरं हुवेम उच्छन्त्यामुषसि वह्निरुक्थैः ।[42] If, however, any but the initial stage of the natural phenomenon is looked upon as the time of their coming, then they may be said to follow or accompany Uṣas. "You follow Uṣas, O Aśvinā".[43] अश्विना सुविचाकशद्वृक्षं परशुमाँ इव[44] (Uṣas look-

39. Ibid. IV.13.1.
40. Ibid. VII.67.2.
41. Ibid. Val. 9.2.
42. Ibid. I.184.1.
43. Ibid. VIII.5.2.
44. Ibid. VIII.73.20.
Wilson, following Sāyaṇa, translates: 'Aśvins, the splendidly — brilliant (sun cleaves the darkness) as the woodman with his axe a tree.' Grassmann thinks that 'the demon looked at the Aśvinā.' It seems, however that the ṛc refers to Uṣas mentioned in the preceding ṛc.

ed on the Aśvinā as one with an axe would on a tree). Uṣas is asked to awaken the Twins.[45] Indeed "the praises of Uṣas have awakened the Aśvinā."[46] Thus Uṣas precedes the Aśvinā.

Whatever the stage in the natural phenomenon, Uṣas accompanies the Aśvinā. Uṣas and the Aśvinā being contemporaneous, their concomitance was elevated by the worshippers to friendship. "Thou art a friend of the Aśvinā, O Uṣas."[47] Besides, the Twins and Uṣas became more than mere friends. Uṣas is the Daughter of Dyaus; the Aśvinā are the Sons of Dyaus, and therefore the brothers of Uṣas.

In ṚV. VIII.9.18 we have practically the two termini of the period during which the Aśvinā appear: यदुषो भासि भानुना सं सूर्येण रोचसे । आ ह्यग्नमश्विनो रथो वर्तिर्याति नृपाय्यम् ॥ Similarly, the refrain of the first twenty-one ṛcs of ṚV.VIII.35 is an invitation to the Aśvinā to come in the company of Uṣas and Sūrya, both of whom rush into the mind when one thinks of the Twins.

The Aśvinā are once directly invited to the evening libation, cp. इदं तृतीयं सवनं पिबाथः.[48] They are often invited to come three times a day.[49] In fact, a whole hymn (ṚV.I.34) is a request to the Aśvinā to do a great many

45. Ibid. VIII.9.17.
46. Ibid. III.58.1.
47. Ibid. IV.52.3.
48. Ibid. Vol. 9.1.
49. Ibid. VIII.5.8.
Griffith translates this ṛc: "Wherewith the three wide distances, and all the lights that are in heaven, Ye traverse, and three times of night", and adds a note: 'Three times of night: Yāmas, night-waches of three hours each.' This seems rather forced, and, even so far as it goes, it is not clear.
Our translation rests on the assumption that दिवः is not Abl., but Acc. plu. like अक्तून्, with which it is contrasted, cp. द्युभिरक्तुभिः (I.112.25). The Acc. is of duration. This interpretation is supported by the fact that विश्वानि रोचना is mentioned with दिवः but it is not repeated with अक्तून् for, at night nothing is clearly visible.

things thrice. They are requested to come thrice, to bestow food thrice, to protect the prayers thrice, to bring fame thrice, etc. This play on the word त्रिः seems rather due to the fact that the Aśvinā are often invited to the three libations. "(Come, Aśvinā, with the horses) with which you fly round the three distances and all shining things by day, and the three by night" (येभिस्तिस्रः परावतो दिवो विश्वानि रोचना। त्रीँरक्तून्परिदीयथः॥)[49] But the foregoing analysis has shown that the proper time for the coming of the Twins is morning. "It is well-known that the Aśvinā accept the sacrifice at morn—thus speak the seers of old highly (of the Aśvinā)."[50] A Ṛṣi even warns the sacrificers against being too late in offering to the Aśvinā, and he expressly reminds the offerers that "the offering made in the evening does not reach the gods; for, it is not accepted by them."[51] Therefore it may be concluded that the time of the Aśvinā's coming is early morning; but as deities they are invited to come at any time only through an extension of the proper time.

49. Ibid. VIII.5.8.
Griffith translates this ṛc: "Wherewith the three wide distances, and all the lights that are in heaven, Ye traverse, and three times of night", and adds a note: 'Three times of night: Yāmas, night-watches of three hours each.' This seems rather forced, and, even so far as it goes, it is not clear.
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50 Ibid. V.77.1.
51. Ibid. V.77.2.

VII.

The Aśvinā: Their Chariot

Whenever we think of the Aśvinā, we are invariably reminded of their chariot fashioned by the Ṛbhus.[1] The Ṛbhus are said to have fashioned it out of their mind by thinking, cp. रथं ये चक्रुः सुवृतं सुचेतसोऽविह्वरन्तं मनसस्परिध्यया।[2]. The chariot is like Madhu in colour (मधुवर्ण).[3] More often, its colour is described as golden (हिरण्यय).[4] Like the Aśvinā, the chariot assumes many forms;[5] consequently it is called multi-coloured (चित्र).[6] It is covered all over with gold, cp. हिरण्यत्वक्.[7] Besides, it is decked with a thousand ornaments[8] and has a hundred banners.[9] It is therefore not only beautiful, cp. सुपेशसा,[10] but spick-and-span in appearance (नव्य)[11] as well.

The chariot is thus fair to look on (वपुः).[12] It is indeed refulgent (विरुक्मान्).[13] Its luminous appearance is suggested by various epithets, e.g., द्युमान्,[14] पुरुश्चन्द्र,[15] etc. As it is covered with the morning rays,[16] it naturally shines far and

1. RV. I.20.3; IV.33.8; X.39.12.
2. Ibid. IV.36.2.
3. Ibid. V.77.3.
4. Ibid. IV.44.4; VII.69.1; VIII.5.35.
5. Ibid. III.58.9.
6. Ibid. I.34.10.
7. Ibid. V.77.3. Cp. VIII.8.2.
8. Ibid. VIII.8.11, 14.
9. Ibid I.119.1.
10. Ibid. I.47.2.
11. Ibid. I.180.10.
12. Ibid. VI.49.5.
13. Ibid. VI.49.5.
14. Ibid. X.40.1; VI.62.10.
15. Ibid. VII.72.1.
16. Ibid. VII.69.5.

wide, cp. पृथुपाजसा.[17] In its splendour the chariot must be as brilliant as the sun; for, it is called सूर्यत्वक्.[18]

The size of the Aśvinā's chariot must be almost gigantic, because it "blocks heaven and earth."[19] It extends far and wide over the five clans, cp. पप्रथानो अभिपञ्च भूमा.[20] Compassing round many places, cp. पृथुज्रय[21] (encompassing a wide space), it has ample space in it.[22] The car is unique in structure for many of its parts are triple. In fact, it is itself called "three-fold" (त्रिवृत्).[22a] Among its parts, the seats which are broad, cp. सुप्रबन्धुरम्,[23] and golden in colour, cp. हिरण्यबन्धुरम्,[24] are three in number and have firm supports, cp. त्रयो बन्धुरः सनीळाः.[25] The triple seat is so outstanding a feature of the car that the latter is often called त्रिबन्धुर.[26]

The wheels of the chariot are also three in number,[27] out of which two are golden in colour, उभा चक्रा हिरण्यया.[28] From various passages[29] it seems that one of the wheels is fixed but, it is warranted, it does not clog the movements of the chariot, cp. न चक्रमभिबाधते.[30] One of these wheels seems to have been lost when the Aśvinā attended Sūryā's marriage.[31] The three wheels naturally require three fellies.[32] The fellies being golden in colour[33] seem to have been conspicuous because the chariot is said to be shining with them, cp. पविभी रुचानः.[34] The fellies are अरिष्ट[35] (uninjured), and are wonderful because they trickle[36] with

17. Ibid. VIII.5.2.
18. Ibid. VIII.8.2.
19. Ibid. VII.69.1.
20. Ibid. VII.69.2.
21. Ibid. IV.44.1.
22. Ibid. IV.44.4.
22a. Ibid. I.34.2; 47.2; VIII.85.7.
23. Ibid. I.181.3.
24. Ibid. VIII.5.28.
25. Ibid. I.34.9.
26. Ibid. I.47.2; 157.3; VIII.71.4; 69.2; VIII.22.5.
27. Ibid. I.34.9; IV.36.1; X.41.1.
28. Ibid. VIII.5.29.
29. Ibid. I.30.19; V.73.3; VIII.22.3.
30. Ibid. VIII.5.34.
31. Ibid. X.85.16.
For further information about the three wheels, see below pp. 99 ff.
32. Ibid. I.34.2.
33. Ibid. I.180.1.
34. Ibid. VII.69.1.
35. Ibid. I.180.10.
36. Ibid. I.139.3; 180.1.

some liquid, probably Madhu, with which the Aśvinā sprinkle the course as they go.[37]

Some other parts of the chariot are also referred to in the *Ṛgveda*. There are three pillars set up for support (त्रयः स्कभासः स्कभितास आरभे).[38] To the golden chariot there is a golden supporting shaft (ईषा), as well as a golden axle.[39] All the same, the various parts are strong, cp. चोळ्वङ्गः.[40] Once the chariot is referred to as being without reins.[41] But, according to the popular view, the chariot has golden reins,[42] and has thongs of light, cp. स्यूमगभस्तिम्.[43]

The chariot carries the two Men and is therefore called नृवाहण[44] and नृवान्.[45] Besides, it carries a great load of the various things which the Aśvinā intend to bestow on their worshippers. It contains, among other things, *ghṛta*,[46] *rayi*[47] and *vasu*.[48] The Aśvinā are invited to come with *vasu* laden in the chariot,[49] which is sometimes referred to as वसुवाहन or वसुमत्.[50] The chariot contains food, cp. इषां वोळ्हा.[51] "Bringing food, your chariot comes hither."[52] As it brings gifts for the worshippers, the chariot is said to bring a "hundred succours" (शतोतिम्).[53] But, above all, it is laden with Madhu. "(The chariot) in which there are three kindred shares of food; the fourth is a skin full of Madhu."[54] The chariot is often called मधुवाहन[55] because it is filled with Madhu to its utmost capacity.[56] Moreover, it is अश्वावत् and गोमत्[57]—both these epithets being only extended to it from the Aśvinā.

37. Ibid. IV.45.3.
38. Ibid. I.34.2.
39. Ibid. VIII.5.29.
40. Ibid. VIII.85.7.
41. Ibid. IV.36.1.
42. Ibid. VIII.5.28; 22.5.
43. Ibid. VII.71.3.
44. Ibid. II.37.5.
45. Ibid. VI.62.10.
46. Ibid. I.34.10; cp. V.77.3.
47. Ibid. I.116.18, 19, etc.
48. Ibid. I.119.1; IV.44.1, etc.
49. Ibid. I.47.3.
50. Ibid. I.118.10; V.75.1; VII.67.3; 69.3, 4.
51. Ibid. VII.69.1.
52. Ibid. V.77.3.
53. Ibid. VI.63.5.
54. Ibid. IV.45.1.
55. Ibid. I.34.2; 157.2, etc.
56. Ibid. I.182.2.
57. Ibid. VII.72.1.

The chariot is strong[58] and never-erring,[59] and is therefore ever foremost.[60] It is विभिन्दु[61] (breaking asunder) victorious,[62] without an enemy[63] or hindrance.[64]. It is indeed most wonderful.[65] Owing to its invariably accompanying the Twins, various epithets of the latter have been applied to the chariot. Like the Aśvinā, the chariot is undecaying,[66] and immortal.[67] It is liberal[68] and "bestows all good fortunes."[69] As it is holy[70] and worthy to be praised,[71] it is called upon by many.[72] Like the Aśvinā, it is easily invoked,[73] because it is said to be frequently coming to the libations.[74]

The chariot is common (समानः)[75] for both of the Twins and is yoked for both alike.[76] Sprung from *Ṛta*,[77] it is yoked arcording to *Ṛta*.[78] It requires only the exercise of the will for its yoking.[79] The steeds being yoked by gods,[80] it is no wonder that the car is "well-yoked."[81] Like the Aśvinā, their chariot is constantly moving, cp. यय्यम्;[82] indeed of all chariots it is the one that travels most (रथानां येष्ठः).[83] The horses yoked to the chariot are quick, very quick cp. जीराश्वम्,[84] and द्रवदश्वम्;[85] therefore, it moves at a high speed. It is as quick as the wind,[86] or as quick as thought (मनोजवा),[87] nay, it is even "faster than a mortal's thought."[88] In the smallest fraction of time, it goes round

58. Ibid. I.181.3.
59. Ibid. IV.36.2.
60. Ibid. I.181.3.
61. Ibid. I.116.20.
62. Ibid. I.117.16.
63. Ibid. VIII.22.1.
64. Ibid. VIII.22.1.
65. Ibid. VIII.22.1.
66. Ibid. IV.45.7.
67. Ibid. I.30.18; V.75.9.
68. Ibid. I.157.3.
69. Ibid. I.157.3.
70. Ibid. I.181.3.
71. Ibid. IV.36.1; X.41.1.
72. Ibid. X.41.1.
73. Ibid. VIII.22.1.
74. Ibid. X.41.1.
75. Ibid. X.41.1.
76. Ibid. I.30.18.
77. Ibid. III.58.8.
78. Ibid. VII.71.3.
79. Ibid. VI.49.5; VII.69.2; VIII. 5.2.
80. Ibid. VII.67.8.
81. Ibid. I.117.15.
82. Ibid. II.37.5.
83. Ibid. V.74.8.
84. Ibid. I.119.1; cp. I.157.3.
85. Ibid. IV.43.2.
86. Ibid. V.77.3; I.118.1.
87. Ibid. V.77.3; VII.68.3.
88. Ibid. I.118.1. cp. 117.2, etc.

heaven and earth.[89] In spite of such a high speed, the chariot rolls lightly.[90]

The chariot is yoked in the morning.[91] At its yoking, the Daughter of Dyaus is born.[92] As it moves about in the early morning (उत्तरयामा),[93] it is covered over with the morning rays, वस्त उस्राः.[94] Every morning it carries the Aśvinā from one clan to another.[95] The chariot too, like the Aśvinā, is called परिज्मा.[96] It travels in the sea of air, cp. समुद्रे अश्विनेयते,[97] round the spaces,[98] round heaven and earth[99] and across the seven streams.[100]

As against the assertion that the chariot of the Aśvinā is "horseless,"[101] it is well-known that it is drawn by a team of horses, fair to look at,[102] and self-luminous.[103] The horses have fair backs[104] and are variegated in colour.[105] Radiant[106] and divine,[107] they indeed adorn the sacrifice, cp. अध्वरश्रियः.[108] As they are strong and powerful,[109] they are वाहिष्ठाः[110] (fittest to draw the chariot). In their vigour, cp. इषिरैः[111] they run on, but never swerve.[112] Yoked with a thought,[113] by themselves,[114] or by gods,[115] the horses are no less swift in running. They are quick,[116] and fleet-footed;[117] आशु[118] is an epithet which is applied to them. So noted they are for speed that they are once referred to as "quick ones."[119] The horses are wonderful because they are winged.[120] In spite of their

89. Ibid. III.58.8.
90. Ibid. I.183.2, etc.
91. Ibid. I.22.1; X.41.1, etc.
92. Ibid. X.39.12.
93. Ibid. VII.71.4.
94. Ibid. VII.69.5.
95. Ibid. X.40.1.
96. Ibid. IV.45.1; X.39.1, etc.
97. Ibid. I.30.18.
98. Ibid. IV.36.1, etc.
99. Ibid. III.58.8; VIII.22.5.
100. Ibid. VII.67.8.
101. RV. I.120.10.
102. Ibid. I.118.5.
103. Ibid. I.181.2.
104. Ibid. I.181.2.
105. Ibid. V.75.6; VIII.87.5.
106. Ibid. I.181.2.
107. Ibid. I.118.4; 181.2.
108. Ibid. I.47.8.
109. Ibid. VII.67.4; I.181.2.
110. Ibid. IV.14.4; VI.63.7.
111. Ibid. VI.62.3.
112. Ibid. IV 45.4.
113. Ibid. V.75.6.
114. Ibid. I.119.4.
115. Ibid. VII.67.8.
116. Ibid. I.181.2, etc.
117. Ibid. VIII.5.35.
118. Ibid. VIII.5.7; 10.2, etc.
119. Ibid. VIII.26.6.
120. Ibid. I.118.5; VI.63.7, etc.

high speed, they are well under control (सुयमासः).[121] All their merits are summarized, so to say, when they are called 'noble', cp. स्वश्वा.[122] They are exultant[123] and unfailing..[124] Seeking bliss themselves, they not only carry the Aśvinā to the needy worshipper, but carry them as well to the object of their (the Aśvinā's) joy.[125]

The chariot is sometimes said to be yoked with an ass (रासभ).[126] In ṚV.I.116.2 the ass of the Aśvinā is stated to have won 'a thousand' at a race. When the Aśvinā paid a visit to Divodāsa, their chariot was drawn by a bull and a dolphin.[127] Besides, a strong,[128] tawny-coloured,[129] Kakuha (or Kakuhas) is said to draw the chariot.[130] It creates food as it moves along.[131] In addition to these animals, birds are also said to have been yoked to the chariot.[131a] "May your falcons bring you hither."[132] Even swans,[133] rich in Madhu, golden-winged are yoked to the chariot.

The chariot-animals are उषर्बुधः[134] (waking at dawn), and bring the Aśvinā to the devotee's dwelling when dawn shines.[135] "Your giant coursers hasten on over the region all in flames, when your car flies with winged steeds" (वच्यन्ते वां ककुहासो जूर्णायामधि विष्टपि । यद्वां रथो विभिष्पतात् ॥[136] वच्यन्ते वां ककुहा अप्सु जाता युगा जूर्णेव वरुणस्य भूरेः ॥[137]) (Your kakuhas born in water move along like the 'passing (?) yokes of the mighty Varuṇa'). It is to be noted that the course of the chariot-animals is described in quite

121. Ibid. I.180.1.
122. Ibid. VII.68.1.
Here used with reference to the Aśvinā. cp. IV.45.7 where the same epithet is applied to the chariot.
123. Ibid. IV.45.4.
124. Ibid. IV.45.4.
125. Ibid. VI.63.7.
126. Ibid. I.34.9; VIII.85.7.
127. Ibid. I.116.18.
128. Ibid. V.73.7.
129. Ibid. I.181.5.
130. Ibid. I.46.3; IV.44.2.
131. Ibid.
131a. Ibid. I.119.4; VIII.5.33, etc.
132. Ibid. I.118.4.
133. Ibid. IV.45.4.
134. Ibid. I.92.8; IV.45.4.
135. Ibid. IV.14.4.
136. Ibid. I.46.3.
137. Ibid. I.184.3.
Geldner, *Ṛgveda* (transl.) I.i.l, interprets *Yugā Jūrṇā*

a different manner (as the two quotations show) from that in which the courses of the Aśvinā and the chariot are described. But the meaning of the two quotations—especially of the latter—is not clear. The kakuhas are born from water, and the chariot-animals are said to swim in water;[138] perhaps, these facts may have some connection with the simile युगा जूर्णेव वरुणस्य भूरेः.

as 'worn out yokes' and takes इव with वरुणस्य which is syntactically scarcely correct. For *Yugā Jurṇā* he proposes the interpretation 'shaking yokes'. Oldenberg, *Noten*, p. 182 thinks that *Yugā Jūrṇā Varuṇasya* may refer to the waves of the sea, and in his opinion, it is likely, they do.

138. Ibid. IV.45.4.
What do these *kakuhas* signify—if anything at all? On the data before us, I am inclined to believe, as I have already hinted in the last line above, that the *kakuhas* as referred to in the quotations may have some connection with the simile युगा जूर्णेव वरुणस्य भूरेः. Now my chain of thinking is as follows: The *kakuhas* are chariot-animals, first of all. In terms of physical phenomenon, then, they can be identified, as indeed all others of their chariot-animals, with the वयः in ṚV. V.73.5: आ यद्वां सूर्या रथं तिष्ठद्रघुष्यदं सदा । परि वामरुषा वयो घृणा वरन्त आतपः ॥ These 'red birds' of the Aśvinā are the same as the red colours of the phenomenon of the morning twilight. This verse is quite faithful to the natural phenomenon; for, in the morning, when the sun rises and dawn comes to an end i.e. when "Sūryā mounts the chariot of the Aśvinā," there is the red glow in the East, but no heat whatsoever. This, as the Ṛṣi explains, was due to the fact that the red birds of the Aśvinā kept away the heat.
But the *kakuhas* are said to have been अप्सु जाता. The fact that this special word ककुह् is used to refer to the animals who are अप्सु जाता and, also, that the simile is based on the sea may fairly indicate that the ककुहs signify not the actual red colours in the sky, but their reflections in water. If this be admitted, the use of the special word ककुह् (instead of the many others) especially in connection with water is easily explained. The *kakuhas* will then indeed be अप्सु जाता (born *i.e.* reflected in water). There is yet another confirmation of this view to be found in the use of the verb वच्यन्ते only in connection with the *kakuhas*. Neither the well-known ass nor in-

deed any other of the Aśvinā's chariot-animals is spoken of in terms of the root वच्—"to move crookedly." The *kakuhas* alone are said to "move crookedly". Now, the reflection of the colours of the morning twilight falling on water will remain steady if the surface of the water is free from all disturbance; otherwise they will be disturbed according to the disturbance in the watery surface. The reflections will therefore ride on the crests of the billows or ripples of the water, and may well be said to "move crookedly", thus showing the ups and downs of the movements of the waves on which they ride. This "crooked movement" cannot be predicated of the actual colours of the morning sky, but only of their reflections in water.

And, lastly, this view explains the motif of the simile in ṚV.I 184.3: युगा जूर्णेव वरुणस्य भूरेः "Your *kakuhas* move crookedly like the 'passing waves' (i.e. moving waves) of the mighty ocean (Varuṇa)".

VIII

The Aśvinā: Their Physical Basis

In the preceding chapters the Aśvinā have been considered as personal mythological figures. The next and the most important question which remains to be enquired into is: what natural phenomenon is it that has been deified or anthropomorphized as the Aśvinā in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*?

Notwithstanding Sten Konow's assertion that "the conception of Vedic religion as a worship of nature and natural phenomena is fundamentally wrong",[1] it may be said with Winternitz—and most other scholars, in fact—that "the songs of the *Ṛgveda* prove indisputably that the most prominent figures of mythology have proceeded from personifications of the most striking natural phenomena".[2] The greatest objection to Konow's view is the fact that scholars of modern times equipped with the knowledge of comparative philology, comparative mythology, and such other aids to research, and the ancient and

1. *The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People*, Kristiania, 1921, p. 5.
2. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. p. 77. cp. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 591 ff; Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 30; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 2.

medieval Indian commentators alike are arrayed against him. Even at the time of Yāska, the first commentator of the *Ṛgveda,* there was, as can be seen from the *Nirukta,* a general belief that the Vedic gods represented the phenomena of nature. Yāska sometimes refers to the different opinions of various schools as to the basis on which the conceptions of a deity rests, and gives his personal opinion as well. Sāyaṇa, the best known commentator, interprets the *Ṛgveda* in the light of tradition, guided often by the writings of his predecessor, Yāska. He too subscribes to the belief that the Vedic gods have a physical basis. With the birth of the modern critical school a new era dawned upon the exegesis of the Vedas. The followers of the modern critical school, believing, like the indigenous scholars, that the bulk of Vedic mythology rests on the substratum of natural phenomena, have brought their critical powers to bear upon the problem of the interpretation of the Vedic gods. Like other deities, the Aśvinā have been subjected to a thorough enquiry as to what natural phenomenon they represent. The enquiry, however, has not yielded a uniform result. In fact, there are more than half a dozen theories about the physical basis of the Aśvinā so that every successive research worker now identifies himself with one or the other of these rival schools. Indeed, the Aśvinā have been a centre of controversy since the time of Yāska; for, in the *Nirukta* (XII.1) he mentions the various views about the Aśvinā current in, or before, his time. Some, he says, regarded the Aśvinā as heaven and earth, others as Sun and Moon; yet others thought that they were day and night; while the Aitihāsikas considered them as two kings, performing holy deeds. About Yāska's own opinion on the question there are different views. Roth thinks that in the opinion of Yāska the Aśvinā are Indra and the Sun.

But others, especially Goldstücker,[3] question the correctness of Roth's interpretation of the opinion of Yāska.

In addition to these views, various others have been proposed, and upheld or rejected according to individual opinion, guided by the point of view from which the *Ṛgveda* is interpreted. Thus Geldner[4] accepts the view of the Aitihāsikas, and believes that the Aśvinā are merely two Indian saints. Weber,[5] examining the question from the point of view of Astronomy, came to the conclusion that the Aśvinā are the twin stars of Gemini. Müller and Ludwig[6] are the exponents of the theory that the Aśvinā represent the Sun and the Moon. Vodscov holds that the Aśvinā are rain-gods, and signify, as Renel explains, the liquid and fire elements which are mixed with one another. Oldenberg,[7] following Mannhardt, thinks that by the Aśvinā the morning star and the evening star are meant. In such a formidable conflict of opinions, each theory naturally receives thrusts and wounds from all the other opponents, the result being that all are wounded, and none has won. Hillebrandt[8] has dispassionately criticised each one of these theories, and in his opinion the Sun and Moon theory is the most probable. Keith, on the other hand, says that "this theory has the support of Ludwig, Hillebrandt and Hardy, but nothing else whatever can be said for it."[9] It seems that common opinion leans more and more towards the morning and evening star theory which, Oldenberg once complained, "has not found the recognition it deserves".[10] Besides Mannhardt and Oldenberg, the theory has been endorsed by Bollensen, v. Schroeder

3. See Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts,* V. p. 256.
4. *Vedische Studien* II.31.
5. *Rājasūya,* p. 100.
6. *Rigveda,* iii.34.
7. *Religion des Veda,* pp. 207 ff.
8. *Vedische Mythologie,* I. pp. 56 ff.
9. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* I. p. 118.
10. *Religion des Veda,* p. 209, n.

and Güntert. It is therefore necessary to examine it in detail.

Oldenberg[11] divides his evidence into Indian materials and the materials provided by comparative mythology. Let us then first examine his treatment of Indian materials. Oldenberg truly observes that "it seems at first sight of the two Aśvinā, heaven's children (*divo Napātā*), that these twin gods are connected with the phenomena of light of the coming day". His conclusion is also correct that the Aśvinā's activity is circumscribed by the appearance of Agni, lighting up the night, and Uṣas on the one hand, and the rising sun on the other.[12] But doubtful is his observation that "the emphasis put upon the course (*vartiḥ*) of the Aśvinā's chariot seems to indicate that it was considered as a fixed one." As grounds on which he bases his view he quotes ṚV.I.180.10 (तं वां रथं वयमद्या हुवेम स्तोमैरश्विना सुविताय नव्यम् । अरिष्टनेमिं परि द्यामियानं विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम् ।। and III.58.8 अश्विना परि वामिषः पुरूचीरीयुर्गीर्भिर्यतमाना अमृध्राः। रथो ह वामृतजा अद्रिजूतः परि द्यावा पृथिवी याति सद्यः ।।) Moreover, he asks us to compare I.115.3 where the Sun's horses are mentioned, (भद्रा अश्वा हरितः सूर्यस्य चित्रा एतग्वा अनुमाद्यासः। नमस्यन्तो दिव आ पृष्ठमस्थुः परि द्यावापृथिवी यन्ति सद्यः ।।) also IV.51.5 which is about Uṣas (यूयं देवीर्ऋतयुग्भिरश्वैः परि प्र याथ भुवनानि सद्यः ।।) and IV.45.7 which is about the Aśvinā (प्र वामवोचमश्विना धियन्धा रथः स्वश्वो अजरो यो अस्ति । येन सद्यः परि रजांसि याथो हविष्मन्तं तरणिं भोजमच्छ ।।) Do these passages, however, lead us to conclude that the course of the chariot is a fixed one? ṚV.I.180.10 mentions the chariot as "going round the sky"; while ṚV.III.58.8 as "travelling briskly round the sky and the earth." What is there in these two passages on the strength of which it may be assumed that the path of the chariot was

11. Oldenberg's arguments as here examined are contained in his *Religion des Veda*. pp. 207 ff.
12. See above pp. 65 ff.

fixed? As a matter of fact, these passages contradict one another for, one of them says that the chariot travels round the sky while the other says that it travels round the earth and the sky. Granted that the chariot had a fixed course, it must be conceded on analogy that the course of Uṣas and that of the Sun's horses were fixed as well. What fixed course has Uṣas? The mere fact that the course of the chariot is repeatedly described does not show that the course was fixed. Moreover, it is a rather unreliable method to draw conclusions from the evidence of passages selected at random. There is a far greater number of passages which make it impossible for us to assume that the course of the Aśvinā's chariot was a fixed one. cf. ṚV.I.30.18, 180.1; VII.67.8; 69.3; VIII. 73.13. यो वां रजांस्यश्विना रथो वियाति रोदसी ।[13] वि वां रथो वध्वा यादमानो अन्तान् दिवो बाधते वर्तनिभ्याम् ।[14] एकस्मिन्योगे भुरणा समाने परि वां सप्त स्रवतो रथो गात् ।[15] युवो रजांसि सुयमासो अश्वा रथो यद्वां पर्यर्णांसि दीयत् ।[16] रथः समुद्रे अश्विनेयते ।[17] These passages cannot allow us to endorse the general conclusion that the course of the chariot was a fixed one.

Oldenberg proceeds, "all this forces us to the conclusion that the Aśvinā as well as other deities generally connected with them—Agni, lighting up the night, Uṣas, and the Sun—embody a natural phenomenon. True, there is a certain difference felt between the language of the hymns to the Aśvinā and to the other deities. There is something wanting, of the concrete representation of Agni, lighting up the night, of Uṣas awakening the human kind to activity. And if we look for a natural phenomenon at daybreak, there is nothing which corresponds to the idea of this twin-being, which traverses the sky in full light before the Sun."[18]

13. ṚV. VIII.73.13.
14. Ibid. VII.69.3.
15. Ibid. VII.67.8.
16. Ibid. I.180.1.
17. Ibid. I.30.18.
18. *Religion des Veda*, p. 209.

Granting that there is something wanting, of the concrete representation of Agni and Uṣas, it still remains unintelligible how this fact would square well with Oldenberg's ultimate identification of the Aśvinā with the morning star. If the Aśvinā are the morning star, "the only luminary force (besides Uṣas and the Sun) to which the imagination adorning the coming of the day with divine figures, the cult concerning the coming of the day, could attribute that place at which we find the Aśvinā"—if this is so, it is simply impossible that a concrete, luminous object like the morning star should be wanting in the concrete representation which Uṣas, after all less concrete than the morning star, has got. The morning star is in no way less concrete than Agni. Consequently, the morning star should have been represented as concretely as Agni, or the Sun. Moreover, Oldenberg says that "there is nothing corresponding to the idea of this twin-being, which traverses the sky in full light before the Sun." But this assertion is more than necessarily qualified, because the Aśvinā do not "traverse the sky in full light before the Sun" in the sense (which Oldenberg seems to have in mind) that they do not possess "full light" from beginning to end. The Aśvinā are said to go in full splendour to Sūryā which Oldenberg himself identifies with the rising Sun.[19] How can this be consistently explained, when the morning star, instead of rising in splendour, only begins to fade?

On the strength of his premises Oldenberg concludes: "Therefore we have to assume that the original idea became fossilized. Certain elements were shifted, and the poets simply repeated things not understood in consequence of the shifting." This conclusion is not the only one possible to be drawn from Oldenberg's premises.

19. Ibid. p. 212.

Can it not be that the want of concrete representation is due to the comparatively less concrete nature of the phenomenon underlying the Aśvinā? Is it not also possible that the process of anthropomorphization, which Oldenberg himself puts into the Indo-European time,[20] must have gone so far that the Aśvinā's physical basis came to be left into the background? This does not necessarily presuppose a shift. It means that due to the accretion of later elements the phenomenon was out-weighed in representation by the anthropomorphized character of the Twins. Analogously, it follows from Oldenberg's reasoning that all "translucent"—as Bloomfield would call them—deities have undergone a shift—which is frankly scarcely acceptable. If, however, it is conceded that the original idea was fossilized, and that a shift was made, it must be shown that the *Ṛgveda* contains clear and reliable signs of the original idea having been fossilized.

To Oldenberg, searching as he is for "a natural phenomenon to which at least a part of the data of the songs will fit, and which is such that also the alteration may be understood, the alteration which has pushed the data no more intelligible out of their place", it seems that "that natural phenomenon can only be the morning star..... Besides the fire kindled in the early morning, besides dawn and the Sun the only luminary force to which the imagination, adorning the coming of the day with divine figures, the cult concerning the coming of the day, could attribute that place at which we find the Aśvinā."[21] It is certainly difficult to suppose that just the idea of such a luminary force recurring every morning should have undergone a shift, while a less concrete phenomenon like Uṣas or an equally concrete object like the Sun should be more or less homogeneously represented in the Vedic

20. Ibid. p. 71.

21. Ibid. p. 210.

songs. Rather, the morning star, whose idea was fossilized, being so concrete a luminary force, would have in all likelihood remained as 'transparent' as other luminary forces.

"With the morning star fits the time of appearance, the luminous nature, the flying movement in a fixed course round the sky, round the Sun, recurring day after day like Sun and dawn", says Oldenberg. As for the time it may be mentioned that the Aśvinā's *terminus ad quem* is just the sunrise, while the morning star would only gradually fade away after the rise of the Sun. The Aśvinā are luminous; so indeed is the morning star. "The flying movement in a fixed course" suits the morning star, but not the Aśvinā. "Flying round the sky, round the Sun" even in the case of the morning star takes a good many things for granted. Far more frequently, however, the Aśvinā are said to traverse "round the regions".

Oldenberg then faces his difficulty. 'True,' he says, 'the duality of the Aśvinā does not fit. But is it not a confirmation of our interpretation that only a very obvious shift is necessary to bring out the eminently fitting meaning of this very trait (duality)? The idea of the morning star is inseparable from that of the evening star. That is the second Aśvin. There remains then only this discrepancy between nature and myth that the morning and evening stars are always separate; the Aśvinā however always united as two beings of the morning. Is this shift not intelligible? In an Aśviṇā hymn (V.77.2) it is said: "sacrifice in the morning, set the Aśvinā in motion. In the evening sacrifice will not reach the gods; it is not pleasant to them." Might not this preference of morning to evening by the cult lead to this that the idea of the morning-evening couple of gods otherwise unchanged

might shift altogether to the morning? Compare with this the importance of the morning dawn in Vedic poetry, the evening dawn not existing for it all'.

Why were the morning and evening stars alone considered as dual, while no other "morning-evening couples of gods otherwise unchanged" are so mentioned? How is it that the Sun appearing both in the morning and evening "otherwise unchanged" escaped the application of duality? How is it that the evening Uṣas merged into the morning Uṣas, while, alone of all, the morning star was dualized?

Aware, perhaps, of this difficulty, Oldenberg has recourse to what amounts to a *petitio principii*. He admits the possibility that the impression of actual human pairs has had a hand in thus representing the Aśvinā as a pair. He further says, "Language too may have exercised its influence; the Nāsatya and the second belonging to him could be designated by the dual Nāsatyā (so already in the Indo-European time)". If, as the latter remark suggests, the dual 'Nāsatyā' goes back to the Indo-European time, it follows that the dual 'Nāsatyā' was handed down to the Vedic singers from the Indo-European time. In other words, the shift which Oldenberg is speaking of must have taken place in the Indo-European period; hence if we rely on certain passages in the *Ṛgveda* where the Aśvinā are referred to as a pair, we use to our purpose the fortuitous utterances of the Vedic singers. Nevertheless, Oldenberg quotes certain passages where there are "traces partly of the separate existence of the Aśvinā, partly of their relation to the evening. 'Separately born,' 'born here and there' they are called by the Ṛgveda". The first quotation suits Oldenberg's purpose; but not the second. इहेह जाता means "born in many (various) places". It is

therefore as much against as he thinks it to be for his view. He then refers to *Nir.* XII.2 where it is said "child of the night (?) one is called, the other is thy son, O Dawn". The evidence of this quotation is uncertain; for, as against Oldenberg's referring 'the son of night' to the approaching night, it may as well be referred, as Goldstücker[22] has done, to the departing night. In ṚV.IV.3.6 the circumambient Nāsatyā is mentioned. "Finally", says Oldenberg, "it is said that the two gods are invoked in the morning and evening".[23]

Thus it will be seen that Oldenberg's interpretation as "derived exclusively from Indian materials" is not warranted by the Indian materials, from which, especially the *Ṛgveda,* evidence has been cited by him in an eclectic way. The most fatal objection against his view is the essentially twin nature of the Aśvinā; and his efforts to surmount it must be declared unsuccessful.[24] The sheet-anchor of Oldenberg's view, however, is the parallels in the mythology of other nations.

The Aśvinā are compared with certain mythological figures of the Greeks and the Letts. The Aśvinā have their Greek parallels in Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Zeus. The former's title *Divo Napātā* is reflected in the latter's ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ. Like the Aśvinā, the Greek Dioscuri help and save men both on sea and land. Just as the Aśvinā are associated with Sūryā, the Dioscuri are closely connected with their sister Helena.

The Lettic "god's sons" also furnish a parallel to the Aśvinā. The Āśvinā's title *Divo Napātā* is almost a translation of the Lettic 'Dewa Deli', and the Lithuanian,

22. See Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts,* V. p. 256.
23. For this remark, see above p. 71 f., also cp. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts,* V. p. 239.
24. Cp. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* I. p. 118.

'Dewo Sunelei'. Sūryā's name, too, has its counterpart in the Lettic 'Saules Meita'. Not only that; her connection with the Aśvinā finds a reflection in the connection between Saules Meita and the Lettic god's sons, who came riding on horses to woo the daughter of the Sun, either for themselves or for the Moon. An exact parallel of this myth is the Vedic account[25] of Sūryā's marriage at which the Aśvinā went to woo her on behalf of Soma. Opinions, however, differ as to the physical basis of the Lettic god's sons; Mannhardt[26] thinks that they represent the morning and evening star, while Bielenstein[27] interprets them as beings "which as riders or driving powers are above and behind the clouds". It must therefore be proved that the Lettic god's sons are really morning and evening star and have always been so,[28] before the Lettic parallel may be accepted as any evidence supporting Oldenberg's theory.

The Greek parallel of the Aśvinā viz. the Dioscuri, cannot be denied. To admit this much, and to interpret the Aśvinā as the morning and evening star chiefly because their Greek counterparts are so interpreted, are two different things. Before the physical basis of the Aśvinā can be identified with that of the Dioscuri, it must be shown, in the first place, that the Dioscuri as the morning and evening star are at least as old as, if not older than, the Aśvinā in the Indo-European period; secondly, that the conception of the Aśvinā is traced, without undergoing a radical change, through the Indo-Iranian, to the Vedic, period. Or, in the alternative, it must be shown, which it is difficult to do,[29] that the *Ṛgveda* borrowed the

25. RV. X.85.
26. *Die Lettischen Sonnenmythen, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie VII.*
27. *Magazine Heraug, Von der Lettische-Litteratur* — Gasselschaft, XIX.4, 240 ff.
28. Hillebrandt. *Vedische Mythologie* I. p. 61; for his criticism of Oldenberg's theory see l.c., pp. 60-62.
29. Cp. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* I. p. 13.

conception from the Greek mythology, or *vice-versa*. Nāsatyā is indeed philologically connected with the Naonhaithya of the Avesta; but mythologically there is no connection between them because the Avestan Naonhaithya is a wicked demon. This fact only confirms the suggestion of Keith that "before the reform of Zoroaster the Naonhaithya must have been great gods".[30] For, the Avesta, as it is to-day, is the work of Zoroaster whose whole plan of reforming the Iranian religion was to oust all the ancient deities from their places, and to teach the people to accept Ahur Mazdah as the highest god. We can, therefore, assume that the demon Naonhaithya of the Avesta must have originally been a god. Similar is the case of Indra, the Vedic War-god; in the Avesta he is a demon. Indra's epithet *Vṛtrahan* has its equivalent in the Avestan 'Verethraghna', a genius of victory. It is therefore quite probable that Indra and the Nāsatyā were among the ancient gods who were changed into demons owing to the teaching of Zoroaster. This conclusion seems to derive support from the discoveries by Hugo Winckler at Boghaz-Koi in Asia Minor, in 1907. Among the finds, there are records of treaties concluded between the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitani, dated about the 14th century B.C. Among the gods invoked to solemnize the treaties, occur names, in the Mitani list, suggestive of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyā. The cuneiform text in which all these are found runs: ilani Mi-it-ra as-si-il ilani U-ru-wa-na-as-si-el (variant: A-ru-na-as-si-il) In-dar (variant: In-da-ra) ilani Na-sa-at-ti-ya-an-na. Opinions differ sharply about the historical character of these gods. E. Meyer and P. Giles consider them to be Aryan; Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith, as Indo-Iranian; while Jacobi, Konow and Hillebrandt, who think that

30. Loc. cit. p. 117.

they are "Indian, Vedic deities" are followed by Winternitz, who even asserts that "there is no possible justification for any other view".[31] In view of such a divergence of opinions it is indeed risky to argue on the historical evidence of these names. If the deities are "Indian, Vedic," then the finds at Boghaz-Koi throw no light on the migration of the conception of the Nāsatyā during the pre-Indo-Iranian period. If, on the other hand, the deities are Indo-Iranian, then it follows that the Nāsatyā must have been popular deities in the 14th century B.C. in and around Asia Minor. The Nāsatyā can be traced so far, and no further. At best, this means that the Nāsatyā must have been considered as deities by the Aryans living in or about Asia Minor, long after they separated from the other sections of the Indo-European family. Consequently, unless it can be shown that the Dioscuri, representing the morning and evening star, and the Nāsatyā come from one common Indo-European stock of ideas, the Greek, and the Indian, parallels remain parallels which do not meet; and serve only to show that the human mind works much the same way everywhere.

It seems that much is made of the similarity of the Dioscuri and the Aśvinā in their relation to horses. But this "horsy" trait is perhaps the one least to be relied upon; for, before the Vedic period the Aśvinā are not 'Aśvinā' but 'Nāsatyā'. The fact that the Avesta knows of Naonhaithya, which is the etymological equivalent of the Vedic Nāsatyā, but has no reference to 'Aśvinā', may well indicate that the popular name of the twins in the Indo-Iranian period was 'Nāsatyā'. It is also significant that in the records dated about 1400 B.C. discovered at Boghaz-Koi occurs "Na-sa-at-ti-ya-an-na" which has been identified with the Nāsatyā. Whether the name is "Indian,

31. *A History of Indian Literature* I. p. 305.

Vedic", or Indo-Iranian, it is beyond doubt that the popular name of the deities invoked was Nāsatyā in 1400 B.C. Oldenberg's[32] conjecture seems, therefore, to be confirmed that 'Nāsatyā' is, perhaps, the older of the two names of the Aśvinā. Consequently, the Aśvinā were not so "horsy" in or before the Indo-Iranian period as they would be required to be, if this trait of theirs were to be equated with that of the Dioscuri.[33]

How then did it come about that in the *Ṛgveda* the popular name of the deities is, not the older Nāsatyā, but a new one, Aśvinā? What does the word "Aśvinā" signify? For the view[34] that the Aśvinā are so called because they ride on horses there is no evidence in the *Ṛgveda*. Nor are the Aśvinā known to the Vedic singers to have been horses themselves at any time[35] although later Indian tradition[36] sought to explain the name "Aśvinā" by saying that Saraṇyū, the mother of the Aśvinā, had been changed into a mare before she bore the Twins. The Aśvinā as found in the *Ṛgveda* are undoubtedly of Indian origin and therefore the significance of the term 'Aśvinā' has to be sought with reference to the condition of the Vedic Āryas. In the *Ṛgveda* Uṣas is the "mother of kine" par excellence. She is often called गोमती.[37] She is said to be liberal in cows. It seems that her connection with cows is definite and conspicuous. As it is well known, the property of the Vedic Āryas chiefly consisted in their animals, of which cows formed a large part. During the night all beings, the animals especially, are exposed to dangers from which they are immune by day. Naturally, the Vedic people were anxious about the

32. *Religion des Veda*, p. 207, n. 1.
33. The Greek Mythology does not know anything about the "Nāsatyā", the older name of the Twins.
34. Hopkins, *Religions of India* p. 80.
35. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 71.
36. Cp. *Bṛhaddevatā* VII.6.
37. ṚV. I.48.2, etc.

safety of their animals. As at the approach of Uṣas the apprehension about the safety of the animals is relieved, she is called the "mother of kine" *i.e.* protector of all the animals. In this trait of Uṣas is to be found a clue to the real significance of the term 'Aśvinā'. Just as cows were the chief domestic animals of the Vedic times, horses as well were an essential requirement of the day, for, they were indispensable in expeditions and wars. In the *Ṛgveda* we constantly hear the singers asking the gods for cows and horses because these were essentially useful in their respective spheres. The horses being as much exposed to the dangers of night as the cows, it seems to have been thought necessary that they too, like the cows, should have a tutelary deity. The deity must necessarily be a morning deity, like Uṣas. Thus the Nāsatyā[38] were claimed as the tutelary deities of the horses and were re-christened 'Aśvinā'. The new appellation, originated as it was from the conditions of the time, soon threw the older 'Nāsatyā' into the background, and became the standard appellation of the Twins.

The present enquiry into the evidence of the *Ṛgveda* for the physical basis of the Aśvinā confirms the opinion proposed first by Yāska, and subsequently endorsed by Hopkins[39] and Goldstücker,[40] viz., that the Aśvinā are the morning twilight—beginning with the moment the first ray of the morning light pierces through the dark veil of the night, and ending with the rise of the Sun. The twilight is half darkness, half light: this constitutes the essentially twin nature of the Aśvinā. The twin lights are in-

38. Were the Nāsatyā originally morning gods? If they were not, they must have been made so in order to be the tutelary deities of the horses. In this case, the natural phenomenon underlying the Twins must necessarily be considered to be a conception of the Indian mind.
Neither the Avesta nor the discoveries at Boghaz-Koi throw any light on this point.
39. *Religions of India*, pp. 80 ff.

separable; so also the Aśvinā are inseparable. Yāska (*Nir.* XII.2) quotes a stanza: "One of them is the child of night, the other is thy son, O Uṣas". "For metrical reasons alone, the fragment is not likely to be quite young."[41] This stanza finds a fitting interpretation in the morning twilight. "The child of night" is the departing darkness, and the "son of Uṣas" is the growing light of the morning. Apart from this quotation, Yāska's own opinion, as has been clearly shown by Goldstücker, is that the Aśvinā represent the morning twilight—the solar phenomenon in which the undisputed reign of darkness over the world begins to yield to the ever-increasing light of the coming day, gradually making everything visible, then turning into grey, from grey to clear light, from light to dazzling splendour. In order to show that this interpretation is supported by the *ṚK* text, no better course can be adopted than to review the preceding chapters in the light of this interpretation.

Chapter I deals with the mind of the Aśvinā; and, therefore, the anthropomorphization of the Aśvinā has reached its high water-mark in it. Naturally, it affords little material that can possibly lend itself to an interpretation as representing a natural phenomenon. The various legends related about the Aśvinā all show that the Twins are the helpers and saviours of mankind in distress—a trait which may have a reference to the return of the light of the Sun during the night.

In chapter II the Aśvinā's appearance is described. They are charming, brilliant, and very handsome. They are described as रौद्रौ and शुभ्रा. All such details are consistent with the morning twilight. In fact, the assertion that the Aśvinā take many forms becomes quite correct when ap-

40. See Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. pp. 225 ff.

41. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* p. 211.

plied to the ever-changing morning phenomenon of light, culminating in dazzling brilliance, and thus vindicating the title शुभस्पती.

Chapter III is about the Aśvinā's food and drink. In this chapter, again, there is very little that can have any bearing on the Aśvinā's physical basis, because the Aśvinā in this chapter are Men free from the least sign of their physical basis.

In chapter IV Vivasvat is said to be the father of the Aśvinā. Vivasvat cannot be the rising Sun[42] because the Aśvinā then cannot be said to dwell in Vivasvat, cp. वावसाना विवस्वति.[43] The word probably stands for the morning sky, gradually growing brilliant. Saraṇyū, the mother of the Aṣvinā, is considered to be drawn[44] or the heated atmosphere[45] of the morning. Saraṇyū, however, seems to mean the departing night, as the root √सृ would suggest. The morning twilight being a broad phenomenon of light is also called the offspring of Dyaus.

The darkness of night and the light of the morning are indeed नाना जातौ (born differently). That the Aśvinā are "born in many places" is a correct observation because the twilight is a broad, universal phenomenon. Although the twin lights are born differently, yet they "have longed for each other", i.e., they are inseparable. Uṣas is the sister of the Aśvinā because of the concomitance of the dawn and the morning twilight. Sūryā is their wife. But her physical basis has been the centre of controversy. Oldenburg[46] and Macdonell[47] think that Sūryā means the rising Sun, and Goldstücker[48] who considers her as "the weakest manifestation of the Sun" follows them. On the

42. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51.

43. RV. I.46.13.

44. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51.

45. Goldstücker; see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* V. p. 257.

46. *Religion des Veda*, p. 212.

47. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51.

other hand, Mannhardt[49] thinks that Sūryā represents the dawn; and Hillebrandt,[50] supporting Manndhardt's view, says that Sūryā in the Vedas is a common synonym of Uṣas and 'Sūryasya Duhitā' according to the usage of language. The latter view simply overlooks the important fact that when Sūryā mounted the Aśvinā's chariot, "red birds kept away the heat."[51] Moreover, the Aśvinā are said to have approached Sūryā in the fulness of their splendour.[52] If, therefore, Sūryā is dawn, then her association with the Aśvinā begins from the moment the first ray of morning pricks the darkness of night. At this early hour, there is nothing in nature that would correspond with the red birds of the Aśvinā, there is no heat, there is no splendour which attends the Aśvinā's union with Sūryā. It may also be mentioned that Sūryā is sometimes called the daughter of the Sun, while Uṣas is the daughter of Dyaus. It therefore follows that Sūryā's identification with Uṣas is beset with difficulties from which her identification with the weakest manifestation of the rising Sun is free. When the twilight is "united" with the rising Sun, there is the red blaze in the East, but certainly no heat because, as the Ṛṣis explain, the red birds of the Aśvinā kept it away.

Chapter V in which the locality of the Aśvinā is considered lends itself spontaneously to the interpretation of the Aśvinā as the morning twilight. The Aśvinā are habitual travellers; they are said to be "coursing round". Indeed, the twilight is not stationary for a moment. Stage by stage it pervades the universe, thus answering the Aśvinā's description as पुरुभूतमा The path by which the Aśvinā, i.e., the twilight, come is long, shining and golden.

48. See Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. pp. 255 ff.
49. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii.295.
50. *Vedic Mythologie*, I. p. 18.
51. ṚV. V.73.5.
52. ṚV. VI.63.6.

It lies through the aerial regions. On their way the Aśvinā (the morning twilight) have to cross seas, and rivers; they have to go across land, water and air. This is only another way of saying that the morning twilight pervades everywhere.

In chapter VI the Aśvinā are shown to be co-eval and co-extensive with the dawn through all her stages. The twilight is indeed co-eval and co-extensive with the dawn. The Aśvinā open heaven, and separate the ends of the earth and the spaces; they are the friends of "variegated Uṣas". Moreover, they gain in splendour. All this shows the various stages of the natural phenomenon in the morning.

In chapter VII in which the chariot is described the outstanding problem is about the three wheels of the chariot. The chariot has three wheels. There are three passages in all in the *Ṛgveda* which refer to the function and the locality of the wheels.

(i) ṚV.I.30.19. न्य ँ घ्न्यस्य मूर्धनि चक्रं रथस्य येमथुः ।
परि द्यामन्यदीयते ॥

(ii) ṚV.V.73.3. ईर्मान्यद्वपुषे वपुश्चक्रं रथस्य येमथुः ।
पर्यन्या नाहुषा युगा मह्ना रजांसि दीयथः ॥

(iii) ṚV VIII.22.4. युवो रथस्य परि चक्रमीयत ईर्मान्यद्वामभिषण्यति ।

It is certain, as Bloomfield[53] says, that these passages are cosmic-mythological. The question then is: what do these three wheels represent?

(i) and (ii) are identical in चक्रं रथस्य येमथुः, and similar in ideas; according to both, one wheel is fixed, and the other revolves. In (iii) one wheel is said to revolve; but it is not certain whether the other is fixed or moving, because in either position it can "send out" the Aśvinā. The

53. *Rigveda Repetitions* i.1.

question might be asked: how can the chariot move, when one of its wheels is fixed? ṚV. VIII.5.34 assures us that the wheel does not clog the movements of the chariot.

In these three passages only two wheels are mentioned. This is indeed significant, and it can be concluded that the third wheel has no conspicuous connection with the morning phenomenon of light. Therefore two wheels must be connected with light. This conclusion is testified by ṚV. VIII.5.29 where it is said "two wheels are golden" i.e., to interpret it broadly, luminous. Lastly, in ṚV. X. 85.15 it is said that one of the wheels was lost at the marriage of Sūryā.

All these data eminently fit the interpretation of the Aśvinā as the morning twilight. The three wheels are apparently, the nocturnal darkness, the growing light of the morning, and the Sun. In this interpretation light and the Sun are luminous or "golden". As seen above, only two wheels, viz., the morning light and the Sun, are connected with the natural phenomenon. In (i) (quoted above) the fixed wheel is the Sun. The general idea at the time being that the Sun is a "bull", the Vedic singers concluded that the Sun is round because the wheel of the Aśvinā's car has been placed on its head. The second wheel is naturally the growing light, which pervades the universe.

In (ii) the "beautiful wheel fixed for brilliance" is naturally the Sun. That this fixed wheel is the Sun can be ascertained from its parallel in (i). The second wheel, the growing light, pervades the universe, and permeates the sky and the earth. The Ṛṣi expresses this in his own language when he refers to the "neighbouring clans and the regions".

In (iii) the moving wheel is, again, the growing light,

cp. (i) and (ii). Therefore the other wheel which sends forth the Aśvinā must be the Sun. There are these additional reasons which confirm this conclusion: (a) If we compare (ii) with (iii), we see that the latter part of (ii) contains the same idea as the former part of (iii). As both the passages refer to two wheels, the remaining portions of both must in all probability contain the same idea. So ईर्मान्यद्वामिषण्यति=ईर्मान्यद्वपुषे वपुश्चक्रं रथस्य येमथुः। The latter, we have seen refers to the Sun; therefore, the former must refer to the Sun as well. (b) The way in which ईर्मा is connected with अन्यद् also points to the similarity of ideas. (c) Lastly, the other wheel is said to send out the Aśvinā. The Sun, the all-impeller, may well impel the Aśvinā too. In fact, in I.34.10 Savitṛ is said to send forth (इष्यति) the Aśvinā's chariot. Thus ईर्मान्यद्वामिषण्यति refers to the Sun.

In ṚV. X.85.15, the Aśvinā are said to have gone to Sūryā's marriage in their three-wheeled car. As they approached Sūryā, one of their wheels vanished. Does not our interpretation fit end to end with this mythological data? As the twilight "approached" sunrise, one of the wheels, the nocturnal darkness, vanished. "Two wheels of thine, O Sūryā, the worshippers know at the proper time. The wheel that is hidden is known only to those who know" (RV. X.85.16). The two wheels known to everyone are the morning light and the Sun. The hidden wheel, i.e., the darkness of night, which, once it disappears, cannot be known by all; only those "who know" can know where it has gone.

2 *KAMPA IN THE ACCENT-SYSTEM OF THE ṚGVEDA*

1. A familiar feature of the Accent-system of the ṚV is the independent *Svarita* with its four varieties, *viz.*, *Jātya* or *Nitya*, *Kṣaipra*, *Praślisṭa* and *Abhinihita*. No less familiar is the phenomenon called *Kampa* marked by the figures 1 and 3 in the *Saṁhitā* of the ṚV. In this short note, we shall discuss certain aspects of the occurrence of the independent *Svarita* and the *Kampa*.

I

2. It is well-known that in the ṚV when a final short *i* with the *Udātta* accent is followed by an initial short *i* with the *Anudātta* accent of the following word and results in a long *ī* by euphonic combination, the resulting long *ī* (*praślisṭa*) bears the (independent) *Svarita* accent representing the fusion of the *Udātta* and *Anudātta* accents of the two combined syllables. Cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* (SG) (1923), 84, d. 128; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* 108(1); *Vedic Grammar for Students* (VGS) Appendix III 17 (a); Velankar, *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII* (1962) Appendix I ii (3). Whitney, SG (128), has presented a clear analysis of the principles governing the accentuation of vowel combinations and shown how this rule regarding the long *ī* (formed by the combination of

Udātta short *i* and *Anudātta* short *i*) being marked as an independent *Svarita* is an exception so far as the ṚV is concerned; a combination of *Udātta* short *u* and *Anudātta* short *u* resulting in long *ū* (*Praślisṭa*) is not marked as independent *Svarita* but only as *Udātta* in accordance with the normal rule. The illustration generally given is:

दि॒वि इ॒व = दि॒वीव (ṚV. VII.24.5). We may quote two more cases from the seventh *Maṇḍala* of the ṚV:

(i) अ॒भि इ॒तिम् = अ॒भीतिम् (21.9), (ii) धु॒रि इ॒व धु॒रीव (24.5)

3. The *Ṛkprātiśākhya* (RKP) states this case and its accentuation in the following *Kārikā*:

इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षैप्राभिनिहितेषु च ।
उदात्तपूर्वरूपेषु शाकल्यस्यैवमाचरेत् ॥ III. 18

As against this view of Śākalya, it quotes the view of Māṇḍūkeya according to which in all cases of *Praślisṭa* combination the resulting combined accent will remain *Udātta* and not be changed to (independent) *Svarita* (माण्डूकेयस्य सर्वेषु प्रश्लिष्टेषु तथा स्मरेत् ।). Quite the contrary practice is seen to be prevalent in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* wherein a combination of *Udātta* short *u* and *Anudātta* short *u* resulting in a long *ū* (*praślisṭa*) is marked with a (independent) *Svarita* accent; but this principle is not followed in the case of a similar combination of *Udātta i* and *Anudātta i*. e.g., सु उद्गाता = सूद्गाता Cf. Whitney, SG 128; Macdonell, VGS Appendix III 17a with footnotes 4 and 5.

II

4. Next, let us consider another aspect of the marking of the independent *Svarita*. It is well-known that when a syllable bearing an independent *Svarita* is followed by a syllable with the *Udātta* accent, a kind of quaver, technically known as *Kampa*, arises in the independent

Svarita. This Kampa is marked with figure 1 or 3 according as the vowel bearing the independent *Svarita* is short or long; both these numeral signs carry the usual markings of the *Svarita* and *Anudātta* accents, the only distinction being that the syllable (bearing the independent *Svarita* originally) is marked as *Anudātta* before the figure 3, while it remains unmarked before the figure 1 *e.g.*,

(i) अप्सु अन्तः = अप्स्व१न्तः (RV. I.116.24)

(ii) तन्वा सं वदे = तन्वा३सं वदे (RV. VII.86.2)

5. Now, an interesting question may be posed here: Would this phenomenon of *Kampa* occur when the independent *Svarita* accent is followed by another independent *Svarita* accent? The rule in regard to the *Kampa* has been framed by Macdonell (VG 84 b; VGS Appendix III 2 b) and, following him, by Velankar (*Ṛgveda Maṇḍala* VII, p. 189), without envisaging such a possibility, perhaps on the supposition that just like the enclitic *Svarita*, the independent *Svarita* accent, too, cannot be followed by another *Svarita* accent. Theoretically, it may not be impossible for two consecutive syllables in the *Saṁhitā* text to have the independent *Svarita* accent. Whitney has been alert to such a possibility and has framed rule 87 d as follows:—'If an independent circumflex be followed by an acute (or by another independent circumflex), a figure 1 is set after the former circumflex vowel if it be short, or a figure 3 if it be long...' Note the alternative condition placed in brackets. Whitney recognizes the possibility of one independent *Svarita* being followed by another independent *Svarita*; however, the fact that he has placed this provision in brackets would indicate that in his view this is only a theoretical possibility. This is confirmed by the fact that he has not quoted any case of occurrence of this kind.

6. Wackernagel is less explicit though more definite in principle than Whitney. He formulates the rule as follows:—'When a syllable with a self-existing *Svarita* (one with *Kṣaipra, Abhinihita* or *Praślisṭa*) occurs before a chief-toned (*haupttoniger*) syllable in the Accent system of the ṚV..etc.' (*Altindische Grammatik* I.251 b β); he has included the independent *Svarita* in his definition of the *Hauptton*, Cf. I.245, 246. According to Wackernagel, therefore, *Kampa* occurs when a syllable with an independent *Svarita* is followed either by a syllable bearing the *Udātta* accent or the independent *Svarita* accent. He quotes no examples.

7. The *Ṛkprātiśākhya* is explicit on this point; it says that *Kampa* occurs when any kind of independent *Svarita* is followed by a syllable with *ucca* i.e. *Udātta* accent or with a (independent) *Svarita* accent.

जात्योऽभिनिहितश्चैव क्षैप्रः प्रश्लिष्ट एव च ।
एते स्वराः प्रकम्पन्ते यत्रोच्चस्वरितोदयाः ।। III. 34

8. It is strange that Whitney (or Wackernagel) has not quoted any cases of an independent *Svarita* being followed by another independent *Svarita*. The omission of this alternative condition, *viz.* an independent *Svarita* being followed by another independent *Svarita* in the ṚV *Saṁhitā* by Macdonell and Velankar in their treatment of *Kampa* is a deficiency (both theoretical and actual) which requires to be made up. At any rate, Prof. Velankar should not have omitted this alternative provision from his rule about *Kampa* because at least one case of this kind occurs in the seventh *Maṇḍala* itself.

समीके३ भीतिम् – ṚV. VII.21.9*cd*.

3 THE PROBLEM OF THE ASPIRATE IN ROOTS LIKE बुध्, दुह् ETC.*

1. Authoritative opinion[1] in comparative philology and the historical study of Sanskrit grammar is entirely at one in holding that sk. roots like बुध्, दुह्, दह्, गृह्, बन्ध्, गाह् etc.,[2] which have a final aspirate, are Indo-European in origin and that in the IE stage they possessed an aspirate both at the beginning and the end of the syllable. Thus, originally, दह् was धघ्, बध् was भध्, द्रुह् was ध्रुघ् etc. In course of time, owing probably to the comparative difficulty experienced in articulating two aspirates successively, the initial aspirate was dropped, leaving the aspiration only at the end. That is, IE root *bheudh* > Sk. बुध्, IE *dhugh* > Sk. दुह्, IE *Dhrugh* > Sk. द्रुह्, IE *bhendh* > Sk. बन्ध् etc. This view is supported by the evidence of the phonetic changes occurring in certain flections of these Sk. roots in which the initial aspirate is found, but only when the final aspirate is lost; e.g., बुध्-बोधति but भोत्स्यति (3 Sing. Fut. Active), बुभुत्सति (3 Sing. Desid. Pres. Active);

* This paper was read at the All India Oriental Conference, 15th session, held at Bombay in 1950.

1. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I. 105, especially, bβ; Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 141a and 155; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 32; Edgerton, *Sanskrit Historical Phonology* § 13, in Supplement to JAOS, Vol. 66 No. 1 (1946): Batākrishna Ghosh, *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit* (1937), p. 10f, etc.

2. All these cases are exactly covered by Pāṇini, VIII.2.37: एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः।

दुह्-दुहन्ति but धोक्षि (2 Sing. Pres. Active), अधोक् (2 Sing. Impf. Act.); ग्रह्-गृह्णाति but जिघृक्षति (3 Sing. Desid. Pres. Active) etc. From the evidence of such forms, it is concluded that the initial aspiration becomes possible whenever the final aspiration is lost; and the law is laid down that in all such roots the initial aspirate *returns* when the final aspirate is lost.[3] A similar situation obtains in Greek, too, though independently of Sanskrit.[4]

This law, known as Grassmann's law, has found universal acceptance. Whitney, for instance, after having framed § 155 in conformity with this law, found it necessary to add the explanatory note 'a' as follows: "That is to say, the original initial aspirate of such roots is restored, when its presence does not interfere with the euphonic law, of comparatively recent origin, which (in Sanskrit as in Greek) forbids a root to both begin and end with an aspirate."

2. N. B. Divatia, however, appears to have been, perhaps, the only scholar to make bold to differ from this universally accepted view. In his *Gujarati Language and Literature*, Vol. I, he enters upon the treatment of the phonetic mutations of the aspirate in the Gujarati language and lays down the following rule: "The ह situated in any part of a word either as part of a conjunct or a pure simple non-conjunct, or an aspirating element in a class-aspirate, (*a*) generally moves towards the beginning of the word,....".[5] In support of this thesis of his, he states: "A minute indication of the germ-stage of this phonetic principle can be seen even in the earlier stages, i.e., Sanskrit, in forms like अधोक्, धोक्षि from दुह्, बुभुत्सा (from

3. Exceptions are also met with: दक्षि instead of धक्षि (√दह्) दुदुक्षन् (√दुह्) etc. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 106; Macdonell, VG. 32-b.

4. Edgerton, SHP. § 13.

5. *Gujarati Language and Literature*, Vol. I, p. 294.

बुध्), where the ह् inherent in the घ of दुघ् (दोघ्) and in the ध of बुध् moves to the beginning and gets completely fused together with द् into ध् and with ब् into भ्. Similar is the case in जिघृक्षा (from ग्रह्)."[6] He then, takes into consideration the prevalent authoritative view and asserts that flectional "forms like अभौत्सीत्, अभान्त्सीत् can be better explained by the principle of the shifting of the ह् inherent in ध् etc. to the beginning and getting merged by the process of संकर with the initial ब् etc. into भ् etc."[7] He sums up his view as follows: "I would suggest the theory as under: that in the parent Aryan there were.....(b) roots like बुध्, बन्ध् etc. which, as I say, alter the initial consonant into a corresponding aspirate simply in obedience to the law of moving the aspiration from the end to the beginning under certain circumstances, and had therefore no such aspirated first consonant in the root stage."[8]

3. Divatia was conscious of the 'heresy' he was giving expression to. I must confess that I am even more so when I say that, standing as it does in opposition to the weighty prevailing opinion, it yet is a plausible hypothesis meriting investigation. The aim of this paper is limited: it seeks to investigate the positional character of a final aspirate and determine the conditions which affect its position and the nature of this affectation. This aspect of the final aspirate has certainly been dealt with by scholars, but all investigation so far has been within the four corners of comparative philology whose results in this particular case admit of a different—and, not less legitimate—explanation of the phonetic mutations in the flections of the roots in question.

4. The question, then, is whether in flections like

6. *op. cit.*, p. 294.
7. *op. cit.*, p. 295n.
8. *op. cit.*, p. 296 n. 18 contd.

धोक्षि, धुग्ध्वे, धुक्, भोत्स्यति, etc. of the roots दुह्, बुध् etc. the initial aspirate is a result of the *restoration* of an original IE aspirate of these roots as the prevalent opinion holds or a result of the *regression*—backward shift—of the final aspirate towards the beginning.

5. Let us begin by investigating forms like दुग्ध, दोग्धुम् from दुह्; दग्ध, दग्ध्वा from दह्; बुद्ध, बुद्धि, बोद्धव्य from बुध् etc. In these forms the original sonant aspirate (which appears as simplified aspirate in दुह्, दह् etc.) of the final is combined with the त् of the endings of the Past Passive Participle (त), gerund त्वा, the primary suffixes ति, तव्य etc. into a euphonic fusion and the result is: दुह् + त = दुघ् + त = दुग् + ह् + त = दुग् + त + ह् = दुग्ध.[9] So also बुध् + ह् + त = बुद् + त + ह् = बुद्ध. Similar are the forms लीढ, रूढ, क्रुद्ध, युद्ध etc. In all these cases it is clear that the final aspiration is not lost—it is utilized in accordance with the law of euphony in aspirating the त with which it is combined. Consequently, the initial aspirate does not *return*, as the Restoration theory would explain,[10] or the final aspirate does not regress, as the Regression theory would put it.

(*a*) One point, however, deserves special attention in this connection. In these euphonic combinations, the fusion of त् + ह् does not stop at the expected थ (i.e., aspirate + surd is not equal to surd aspirate); it goes 'deeper' to result in the sonant aspirate ध. The surd aspirate, therefore, is not apparently as deep in aspiration as the sonant aspirate.

6. This brings us to the cases of the combination of an aspirate, mute or simple, with the surd aspirate थ:— दुह्—अदुग्धाः (2 Sing. Impf. Middle), दुग्धः (2 Dual Pres. Act.), दुग्ध (2 Pl. Pres. Act.); द्रुह्—दुद्रोग्ध (2 Dual Pres. Act.),

9. Bartholomae's Law, cf. Whitney, 160.
10. Whitney, 160-b.

In the combination of घ्(ह्)+थ, here, we have, in fact, a combination of an aspirate with an aspirate. As we have noted above, (5*a*), however, थ being a surd aspirate, does not possess the full aspiration possible; hence, it offers scope for the aspiration in घ to utilize itself in deepening ('voicing') the aspiration of the surd aspirate to that of the sonant aspirate.[11] This analysis clarifies the operation of Bartholomae's law even in cases of the combination of an aspirate and a surd aspirate. The result, therefore, is: अ+दुह्+थास्=अदुघ्+थास्=अदुग्+था+ह्+स्=अदुग्धाः; similarly, लिह्—अलीढाः, लीढः, रुध्—अरुन्द्धाः, रुन्द्धः (2 Dual Pres. Act.); मुह्—मुमोढ—मुमोग्ध (2 Sing. Perf. Active) etc. In these cases, once again, as the final aspirate is utilized in deepening the aspiration of its conjoint surd aspirate, it is not lost according to the Restoration theory, and therefore, the original initial aspirate does not *return;* while, according to the Regression theory, too, the final aspirate, being thus spent according to the law of euphony, does not move backwards.

7. We shall, next, consider cases of the combination of a final aspirate with a sonant aspirate: दुह्—धुग्ध्वे (2 Plu. Pres. Mid.), अधुग्ध्वम् (2 Plu. Impf. Mid.), धुग्ध्वम् (2 Plu. Impv. Mid); गाह्—जघाढ्वे (2 Plu. Perf. Mid.); गृह्—जघृढ्वे (2 Plu. Perf. Mid.), गुह्—जुघूढ्वे (2 Plu. Perf. Mid.) etc. In all these and similar cases, a final aspirate is combined with a sonant aspirate, which is ध् in ध्वे and ध्वम्. Whitney, § 155f, notices धुग्ध्वम्, धद्ध्वम् and अधद्ध्वम् (the last two forms from √धा) and, apparently, considers this combination as falling under § 153, according to which "an aspirate mute is changed to a non-aspirate before another non-nasal mute or before a sibilant." The result will, therefore, be that the final ह् (घ्) in दुह्+ध्वे will 'lose' its aspi-

11. Interesting in this connection would be the view of Kuhn and others that the medial aspirates have developed from Tenue aspirates; *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 100, p. 118.

ration and, according to the Restoration theory, the original initial aspiration will *return.* Thus: दुह्+ध्वे=दुग्+ह्+ध्वे=दुग्+ध्वे=धुग्ध्वे.[12]

(*a*) Here, it is only natural to enquire why the combination of an aspirate with ध् in ध्वे or ध्वम् in these flections must yield a different result from the combination of an aspirate with थ् despite the patent fact that in both cases the final ह् of दुह्, for instance, is identically changed to the sonant ग्. The mere rule governing such cases has already been laid down by Pāṇini in the Sūtra: एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः। (8.2.37). The postulates of this rule require to be analysed, as, indeed, so many of Pāṇini's postulates have been analysed, and the functions rationally explained. Such an analysis would reveal that the phenomena resulting from a combination of a final aspirate with ध्वे etc., *i.e.* sonant aspirate in these endings are not isolated, but that they are exactly identical with those resulting from a combination of a final aspirate with another sonant aspirate, viz., भ् which is found at the beginning of a few nominal endings; *e.g.,* दुह्—धुग्भ्याम्, धुग्भिः; बुध्—भुद्भ्याम् भुद्भ्यः etc. The plain fact that the combination of a final aspirate with a sonant aspirate yields in both cases identical phonetic results is a sufficient warrant for the existence of an underlying principle in these results.

(*b*) Let us analyse धुग्ध्वे. In दुह्+ध्वे, the final aspirate घ्(ह्) will in the first place attempt, as usual, to combine with the following ध्. However, ध् itself is a sonant aspirate and, therefore, as explained above in § 5 and § 6, possesses all possible aspiration that a mute can hold. The final aspirate, therefore, is unwanted, so to say, because it cannot be utilized for aspirating the conjoint mute—which is the only purpose it can possibly serve. Under

12. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 108; for the derivation of the final ह् of दुह् etc. *cf. ibid.* I.214.

the circumstances, it is thrown backward—it regresses—towards the initial and, if possible, combines with it, *i.e.*, utilizes itself in aspirating it. The result is: दुघ् + ध्वे = दुग् + ह् + ध्वे = दु + ह् + ग् + ध्वे = धुग्ध्वे; similarly, बुध् + भ्याम् = बुद् + ह् + भ्याम् = बु + ह् + द् + भ्याम् = भुद्भ्याम्, etc.

(*c*) As will be easily seen, we have come to the crux of the problem here. Now, it will hardly do to hold that in this combination the final aspirate is lost. For, for one thing, the aspirate is quite well known for its mercurial character and is as likely to move backward by the force of circumstances as to move forward—and this it does—in order to aspirate its conjoint mute. Secondly, this shifting forward or backward is a feature of the aspirate in Prakrits and modern Indian languages, which can legitimately be linked up with and traced back to a similar tendency, if any, in Sanskrit. If the Restoration theory interprets the phonetic phenomena regarding the final aspirate in these roots in the light of the earlier—Indo-Iranian and Indo-European—epochs, the Regression theory interprets them in the light of the succeeding periods. Indeed, the zest with which the *Pada*-texts read a sonant aspirate even when the *Saṁhitā*-texts have a pure sonant initial in forms like दक्षि, दक्षत्, अदुदुक्षत्, दुदुक्षन् from the roots दह् and दुह्[13] can hardly be explained by their awareness of the duty to revive an initial aspirate that once was there but had already disappeared; it can only be due to the consciousness of a phonetic principle actually found in vogue around them.

(*d*) Let us consider a relevant piece of evidence which may prove helpful. The word गर्दभ is of uncertain origin but might be derived, it is conjectured, from the root गृध्.[14] According to the Restoration theory, it is obviously

13. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 106; Macdonnell, VG., 32-b note 5.
14. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 108; Macdonell, VG., 32-c note 10.

to be considered an exception in so far as the initial aspirate has not *returned*, eventhough the final aspirate of the root is lost, as, in fact, it ought to have done before भ which is a suffixal aspirate.[15] The word should have spelt घर्दभ, or perhaps गर्धभ. Now, Pāṇini's *Sūtra* quoted above § 7a, lays down that बश् (ब्, ग्, ड्, द्) figuring in a portion of a root, which (portion) has only one vowel in it and ends in झष् (झ्, भ्, घ्, ढ्, ध्), shall be substituted by भष् (भ्, घ्, ढ्, ध्) when that portion is followed by स्, ध्व or is final in an inflected form. Patañjali illustrates the operation of this rule with the flection गर्धप् which is the nominative sing. of the root-noun गर्दभ् formed from the denominative verb गर्दभयति.[16] In this case, on the final भ् losing its aspiration (गर्दप्—ब्), the position of the aspirate should have been normalized, according to the Restoration Theory, by the *return* of the original initial aspirate on the analogy of भुत्-द् from बुध् and the form should have spelt घर्दप्. This, however, is not the case. The obvious—and rational—explanation is that the aspirate, not being a permitted final, does the only thing possible—it regresses to the immediately preceding syllable and tries, if possible, to survive there by aspirating it. Thus: गर्दभ् = गर्द् + ह् + प् = गर्धप् — ब्.[17]

The Regression theory similarly provides the *rationale* of the phonetic changes resulting from a combination of a final aspirate with भ्, the other sonant aspirate with which it happens to be thrown together: बुध् + भ्याम् = भुद्भ्याम्; so also भुद्भिः; दह्—धग्भ्याम्, धग्भ्यः etc.

15. *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 108.
16. महाभाष्य on Pāṇini, VIII.2.32(दादेर्धातोर्घः।): धातोरिति नैषा दादिसमानाधिकरणा षष्ठी। दादेर्धातोरिति। का तर्हि। अवयवयोगैषा षष्ठी। धातोर्यो दादिरवयव इति। सा चावश्यमवयवयोगा षष्ठी विज्ञेयोत्तरार्था। किं प्रयोजनम्। 'एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः।' (VIII.2.37) इतीहापि यथा स्यात्। गर्दभयतेरप्रत्ययो गर्धबिति॥ *Cf.* एकाचो धातोरिति सामानाधिकरण्येनान्वये तु इह न स्यात्। गर्दभमाचष्टे गर्दभयति। ततः क्विप् णिलोपो गर्द्धप्। —सिद्धान्तकौमुदी on VIII.2.37.
17. The latter-day गर्धब is an evolute of गर्दभ through the splitting of भ् into ब् (ब्) and ह् and the regression of the aspirate.

(e) The forms दुग्धि (√दुह्) and दिग्धि (√दिह्), both 2 Sing. Impv. Active, are exceptional,[18] because, according to both the theories, दुह् + धि must result in धुग्धि and दिह् + धि in धिग्धि. That these forms were irregular phonologically even in the eyes of Pāṇini is evident from the manner he has framed the *Sūtra* VIII.2.37 in which he specifically mentions ध्व in order to exclude धि from its purview. It would be strange, if the rule of regression of the aspirate were to be violated before धि in these cases without some reason. A possible explanation may be that the 2 Sing. Impv. Active ending was originally थि which ultimately deepened into धि to be simplified later on into हि. In that case, दुह् + थि = दुग् + ह् + थि = दुग् + धि = दुग्धि according to § 6 above; similarly दिह् + थि = दिग्धि. Now, this conjecture is in reality not as fanciful as it might appear at first sight. For, the 2 Sing. ending has a थ in not a few cases: थास् (Impf. Middle), ईथास् (Potential Middle), थ (Perfect Active),[19] and the middle endings of the Aorist. Moreover, the form दद्धि (2 Sing. Impv. Act of धा), reported by Whitney 155f, which is later replaced by the more common and regular धेहि, would be regularly explained on this hypothesis: दध् (weak form of धा) + थि = दद् + ह् + थि = दद्धि.

(f) Phonologically, the root धा, indeed, behaves strangely, though, perhaps, not irrationally, in some of its inflections. As we know, it assumes the weak—reduplicated—form दध् before vowels, semi-vowels, nasals, स्, and ध्व and follows the normal rules of euphonic combination. But before endings beginning with त् or थ्, it shows unexpected forms: धा + ते (3 Sing. Pres. Mid.) = दध् + ते should have given दद्धे; similarly, अ + दध् + थास् (2 Sing. Impf. Mid.) should have given अदद्धाः. But the actual forms are धत्ते and अधत्थाः respectively. These forms

18. *cf.* Whitney, 155, f.
19. Greek also has the same ending; *cf.* B. Ghosh, LIS, p. 162.

are unexpected certainly, but not irrational. The root धा, which has developed its weak reduplicated form दध्, has here proceeded further in its evolution by the regression of the final aspirate so that दध् became धद् which latter was accepted as the base before endings beginning with त् or थ्. Thus धा+ते=दध्+ते=धद्+ते=धत्ते; so also अधत्थाः.[20]

(g) धेहि, 2 Sing. Impv. Active of धा is not an unexpected form in its double aspiration. There is hardly any ground for supposing that its normal form should have been देहि or that दधाथे (2 Dual Pres. Mid.) should have normally been ददाथे.[21] For one thing, such a supposition would violate the rule which lays down that "there is no loss of aspiration in the root if an aspirate follows which belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound."[22] In accordance with this rule, therefore, the forms धेहि and दधाथे are expected to be what they are phonetically. Besides, there is no euphonological ground for any positional disturbance of the aspirate in these two forms. However, it appears that this rule itself is pointless and unnecessary, because none of the examples cited by Wackernagel and Macdonell is really an example of an aspirate 'followed' by a suffixal aspirate or the aspirate of the second member of a compound. In every one of these examples a vowel intervenes between the two aspirates: विभु-भिः, प्रोथ-थ (snorting), धे-ष्ठ (giving most), अहि-हन्, गर्भ-धि. These cases are governed by the rule that an *aspirate, when followed by a vowel, remains positionally unchanged.* In fact, at the bottom of the rule quoted earlier there is lurking the belief that in Sanskrit "an aspirate at the beginning of a syllable loses its aspiration if another aspirate comes at the end of the same syllable or at the beginning of the

20. Analogously, धक्तम् for दग्धम्; *cf.* Wackernagel, I. 112.
21. B. Ghosh, LIS, p. 10.
22. Macdonell, VG; 32-c; cf. Wackernagel I. 108.

next."[23] We have, however, scores of forms in Sanskrit showing two successive aspirates: धी-धीभ्याम्, धीभिः etc.; भू-भूभिः, भूभ्यः etc.; धा-दधाथे, अदधाथाम्, धेहि, दधाथाम्, दधीथाः, दधिथ-दधाथ, दधथुः, दधाथे; दुह्-दुहाथे, अदुहाथाम्, दुहाथाम्, दुहीथाः, दुदोहिथ, दुदुहथुः, दुदुहाथे, दुदुहिध्वे; हा (to abandon)—जहिथः, जहिथ, जहाहि-जहिहि-जहीहि, जहिथ-जहाथ, जहथुः; हा (to go)—जिहाथे, जिहीध्वे, अजिहीथाः, अजिहाथाम्, अजिहीध्वम्, जिहाथाम्, जिहीध्वम्, जिहीथाः; जहाथे (Perf.), जहिध्वे; भृ-बिभृथः, बिभृथ, बिभृहि, बिभ्राथे, बिभृध्वे, अबिभृथाः, अबिभ्राथाम्, अबिभृध्वम्, बिभ्राथाम्, बिभृध्वम् बभर्थ, बभ्रथुः, बभ्राथे, बभृध्वे; मुह्—मुमोहिथ, मुमुहथुः; गुह्—गूहथः, गूहथ, जुगूहिथ, जुगुहथुः; गाह्—गाहेथे, गाहध्वे, अगाहथाः, अगाहेथाम्, अगाहध्वम्, गाहेथाम्, गाहध्वम्, गाहेथाः, जगाहाथे, जगाहिध्वे-ढ्वे-जघाढ्वे; रुह्—रोहथः रोहथ, रुरोहिथ, रुरुहथुः; बध्—बबन्धिथ, बबन्धथुः; नह्—नेहिथ, नेहथुः; हन्—हथः, हथ, हध्वम्, वृत्रहभ्याम् etc.; लभ्—लभेथे, लभध्वे, अलभथाः अलभेथाम्, अलभध्वम्, लभेथाम्, लभध्वम्, लभेथाः, लेभाथे, लेभिध्वे; etc. etc. Euphonologically, every one of these forms is correct regarding the position of the aspirate,[24] for the aspirates are separated by a vowel in every case, leaving the final aspirate of the root or root-noun positionally unchanged.[25] Also cf. दुह्-दोह, दोहन but धुक्-धुग्, दुग्ध; द्रुह्—द्रोह, द्रोध but ध्रुक्-ग्, ध्रुग्भ्याम् etc.; बुध्-बोध, बोधन, बोधनीय but बुद्ध, भुत्-द् भुद्भिः; etc.

8. Next, we may consider the combination of a final aspirate, mute or simple, with स्, the only spirant by which it is followed in flections. दुह्-धोक्षि, धुक्षे, धुक्ष्व, धोक्ष्यति; बुध्-भोत्स्यति; गाह्-घाक्ष्यते; बन्ध्-अभान्त्सीत्; दह्-धक्ष्यति, दिधक्षति etc. In दुह् + सि, for instance, the aspirate is to be combined with स् and, as we have already seen, it can do so only by aspirating it. But स् is not aspirable in Sanskrit; consequently, the aspirate is thrown back to the preceding syllable and attempts, if possible, to aspirate it. Thus दुह् + सि = दोग् + ह् + सि = दो + ह् + ग् + सि = दो + ह् + क् + सि = धोक्षि; similarly

23. Edgerton, SHP. § 13.
24. बोधि for भोधि and जहि are exceptions. cf. Wackernagel, I. 108, 125-bβ and 214; also Macdonell, VG., 32-c.
25. Reduplication is a special and therefore exceptional case.

बुध्-भोत्स्यति etc. Forms like जुगुक्षतः, दक्षि, दक्षुः, अदुक्षत्, दुदुक्षन् met with in Vedic literature are exceptions[26] and probably represent the transitional stage before the law of the regression of the aspirate came to be firmly established. Some of these and analogous forms are found with the aspirate, too; *e.g.*, अधुक्षत्, धक्षि, अधक्षत् etc. By the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the regression of the aspirate had become the rule. The *Pada*-texts, as we have already noted, religiously read these forms of दुह् and दह् with an initial aspirate even when the *Saṁhitā* text has an unaspirated initial.

9. (*a*) After the regressive shift, the aspirate can remain only in a state of fusion, *i.e.*, only by aspirating the preceding syllable. Such fusion is possible here with pure sonants only. (It is not possible with surds.) *E.g.*, क्रुध्-क्रोत्स्यति (not द्रोत्स्यति (?)); स्तम्भ्-अस्ताम्प्सीत्[27] (not अस्धा°?). In these cases the aspirate is forced to regress to the preceding syllable which is a surd (क् or त्). Fusion is not possible; hence the forms क्रोत्स्यति, अस्ताम्प्सीत्.

It is not difficult to analyse the position. We have discussed already how the surd and the sonant differ regarding the degree of their aspirability. In forms like दग्ध, the combination of an aspirate and a surd results in a sonant aspirate instead of a surd aspirate. This full aspiration may not be possible to impart to a surd after the regressive shift of the aspirate, while it is only natural in the case of a sonant.

(*b*) Fusion of the aspirate with a semi-vowel or a nasal is not possible.

This is true, generally, irrespective of the position of the aspirate, natural or shifted. Even in the natural

26. cf. Wackernagel, I. 106.
27. cf. Wackernagel, I. 106 note.

position, the aspirate can only be combined with a semi-vowel or a nasal, *e.g.*, दह्यते, जह्रे, द्रुह्वः, बध्नाति, दुह्महे etc. But, after the shift, this mere combination is not possible, *cf.* § 9(*a*).

(*c*) If, after the regressive shift, fusion is not possible, the aspirate is dropped.

(*i*) Cases where the preceding vowel is a *semi-vowel:* लिह्-लिक्षेः; रुह्-रोक्ष्यति; वह्-वक्ष्यति; युध्-योत्स्यते; विश्ववाह्-°वाड्भिः etc; तुरासाह्-°षाड्भिः etc. अनड्वाह्-अनडुद्भिः. In अनडुद्भिः etc. the ड् is not aspirated by the backward shift because of the व् in the preceding syllable (वाह्) which is a semi-vowel and is represented by the vowel उ.

(*ii*) Cases where the preceding vowel is a *nasal:* तृंह्-तृणेक्षि; उपानह्-उपानद्भिः, उपानत्-द्; नध्-नद्भ्यः (Rv. X.60.6).[28]

(*d*) An aspirate, not being a permitted final, undergoes the regressive shift: दुह्-धुक्-ग्, अधोक्-ग्; बुध्-भुत्-द्; लिह्-लिट्-ड् (The aspirate in the last case, is dropped according to 9(*c*) above).

The rules about the final aspirate in Sanskrit may be stated as follows:—

(A)—A final aspirate, simple or mute, remains positionally unchanged, when followed by a vowel, a semi-vowel or a nasal.

(B)—When followed by a mute surd, pure or aspirate, (or a pure sonant), it fuses with it *i.e.* aspirates it fully into a sonant aspirate.

(The only quotable surds are त् and थ्.)

28. *cf.* Macdonell, VG., 321, n2. This conjectural derivation from नप्त्, weak stem of नपात्, is unnecessary.

(C)—When followed by a sonant aspirate (which itself is fully aspirated), it regresses, *i.e.*, is thrown backward on the immediately preceding syllable and remains there in a state of fusion only.

(The only quotable sonant aspirates are ध् and भ्.)

(D)—A final aspirate cannot combine with spirants; therefore, before a spirant, it undergoes the regressive shift.

(The only quotable spirant is स्.)

(E)—The aspirate, not being a permitted final, undergoes the regressive shift.

(F)—In the shifted position, it can fuse with pure sonants only.

(G)—If such fusion is not possible, it is dropped.

P. S.—Dr. P. E. Dumont's note, *'The Meaning of the Vedic Word* Ghoṣád', published recently in JAOS Vol. 75 (1955), p. 117f. is very pertinent to the problem discussed in this article. Briefly, he says: *Ghoṣád* occurs only in TS. I.i.2 (*Yajñasya ghoṣád asi*) and in *Tait. Br.* III.ii.2. The word is spelt as *Goṣád* and not *ghoṣád* in the parallel passages in *Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā* and the *Kāṭhaka*: *Goṣád asi*. Keith, following Sāyaṇa, attempts a translation but says that "probably *ghoṣád* is no more than an error for *goṣád*" which apparently means "sitting among the cows". Dumont rejects Keith's facile explanation and logically builds up the case for his view that *ghoṣád* is in reality originally *goṣádh* meaning 'cattle procurer' or 'cattle provider'. He adds: "I think that *ghoṣád* is an irregular nominative singular masculine of the stem *goṣádh* with a transfer of the aspiration to the consonant of a preceding syllable...and that this transfer of the aspiration was probably made in order to show that the stem was not *goṣád*, but *goṣádh*."

Dumont considers *Ghoṣád* irregular apparently because of his adherence to the Restoration theory which cannot explain this form. The form *ghoṣád* derived from *goṣádh* is an eminent case demonstrating the working of the Regression theory. We might well remember in such situations the well-known principle: *Aṇur api viśeṣo 'dhyavasāyakaraḥ.*

4 INTRODUCTION TO SUNDARAKĀṆḌA

वन्देऽहं रामचन्द्रं पवनसुतनुतं सुन्दरं सुन्दरस्थम् ।

The Critical Edition of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* is based on 29 MSS. These MSS. are written, as in the case of the first four *Kāṇḍas*, in the principal scripts such as Śāradā, Newārī, Maithilī, Bengali, Devanāgarī, Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam. Of the 29 MSS. 14 MSS. are common to the *Kāṇḍas* 1-5, 4 $D_{4\cdot11}$ T_3 M_3) are common to 4 and 5, and 1 (D_2) is common to 1,3,4 and 5. Two MSS. (V_1 D_3) are common to the Kāṇḍas 3-5; 2($D_{7\cdot10}$) are common to 1,4 and 5; whereas 1 (D_8) is common to 3 and 5. Five new MSS. (V_2 $B_{2\text{-}4}$ M_2) are utilized for this *Kāṇḍa*. The MSS. are fairly representative to different periods as they range from A.D. 1020 to A.D. 1850. The commentaries of Uḍāri Varadarāja (earlier than A.D. 1250), Rāmānuja (14th century), Maheśvaratīrtha (c.A.D.1550), Gōvindarāja (c.A.D. 1600), Katakayogīndra (c. A.D. 1650) and Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (c.A.D. 1700) have been also regularly utilized for the purpose of variants. All these six commentators hail from South India and comment upon the Southern text of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Bengali commentator Lokanātha Cakravartī has, however, commented upon the Bengali text of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He very often refers to Vimala-

bodha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa (both between A.D. 1100 and 1300), the old commentators of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and quotes from their commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa* which are not available at present.

The 29 MSS. utilized for this *Kāṇḍa* are as follows:

I N (ORTHERN) RECENSION (16 MSS.—Ś Ñ V B 9 + D_7)

(a) North-Western Group

(i) Śāradā Version (Ś)

$Ś_1$ = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14061. Undated.

(b) North-Eastern Group

Nepal. Undated.

$Ñ_1$ = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14156. Microfilm of MS. No. 934 of the Bir Library, Kathmandu, Nepal. Undated.

$Ñ_2$ = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14157. Microfilm of MS. No. 905 of the Bir Library, Kathmandu, Nepal. Dated Newārī Saṁvat 795 (c.A.D. 1675).

(ii) Maithilī Version (V)

V_1 = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 4 (Addenda). Microfilm of a Maithilī MS. of the University Library, Patna. Dated Śaka 1670 (A.D. 1748).

V_2 = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14146. Devanāgarī Transcript of a Maithilī MS. of the Palace (Raj) Library, Darbhanga. Dated Śaka 1772 (A.D. 1850).

(iii) Bengali Version (B)

B_1 = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14125. Photostat copy of MS. No. 348 of the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. Undated.

B_2 = Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. G 393. Undated.

B_3 = Calcutta, Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, No. 94. Undated.

B_4 = Calcutta, Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, No. 1434 (G.A.). Undated.

(c) Devanagari Composite Version (D)

D_1 = Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, No. 825 of 1875-76. Dated Saṁvat 1650 (c.A.D. 1594). (W)

D_2 = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 12864. Dated Saṁvat 1716 (c.A.D. 1660). (NW)

D_3 = Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 5600. Dated Saṁvat 1787 (c.A.D. 1731). (W)

D_4 = Jodhpur, Palace Library, Bandha No. 5. Dated Saṁvat 1788 (c.A.D. 1732). (W)

D_5 = Baroda, in private possession (of Prof. G. H. Bhatt). Unnumbered. Dated Saṁvat 1831 (c. A.D. 1775). (S) It contains the commentary of Govindarāja.

D_6 = Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 1611. Dated Saṁvat 1837 (c.A.D. 1781). (NE)

D_7 = Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 1633. Dated Saṁvat 1888 (c.A.D. 1831). (S)

D_8 = Poona, Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, No. 844. Dated Śaka 1698 (c.A.D. 1776). (S) It contains the commentary of Maheśvaratīrtha.

D_9 = Jodhpur, Palace Library. Unnumbered. Undated. (S) It contains the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa.

D_{10} = Jodhpur, Palace Library, Bandha No. 4. Undated. (NW)

D_{11} = Jodhpur, Palace Library, Bandha No. 5. Dated Saṁvat 1835 (c.A.D. 1779). (NW)

II S(OUTHERN) RECENSION (13 MSS. — T G M 9 + D 4)

(i) Telugu Version (T)

T_1 = Madras, Adyar Library, No. 72372. Undated.

T_2 = Madras, Adyar Library, No. 75597. Undated.

T_3 = Madras, Adyar Library, No. 74122. Dated Śaka 1730 (A.D. 1808).

(ii) Grantha Version (G)

G_1 = Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 6362. Dated Kollam 993 (A.D. 1818).

G_2 = Trippunithura (Kerala State), Maharaja's Grantha Library, Sanskrit College, No. 152. Undated.

G_3 = Ahmedabad, in private possession (of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī). Unnumbered and undated.

(iii) Malayālam Version (M)

M_1 = Trippunithura (Kerala State), Maharaja's Grantha Library, Sanskrit College, No. 158. Dated Kollam 865 (c.A.D. 1690).

M_2 = Trippunithura (Kerala State), Maharaja's Grantha Library, Sanskrit College, No. 953. Dated Kollam 817 (c.A.D. 1642).

M_3 = Chundampatta (via Pattambi), South Malbar, in private possession (of C. Chitrabhanu Nambudiri). Unnumbered and undated.

TESTIMONIA

(i) Commentaries

Cv = Commentary (*Vivekatilaka*) of Uḍāri (also Uḍāli) Varadarāja as in the transcript of the MS. No. 3409 of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The commentary is earlier than A.D. 1250.

Cr = Commentary of Rāmānuja as given in MS. No. 14132 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda; Transcript of MS. No. 8214 of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Undated.

Cm = Commentary of Maheśvaratīrtha (D_8) as given in MS. No. 844 of the Nasik Patwardhan Collection deposited at the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. Dated Śaka 1698 (c.A.D. 1776).

Cg = Commentary of Govindarāja as given in MS. (D_5) of Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Baroda. Dated Saṁvat 1831 (c.A.D. 1775).

Ck = Commentary (*Kataka* or *Amṛtakataka*) of Katakayogīndra (alias Mādhavayogin) as given in MS. No. 24258 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda; Transcript of MS. No. B 11777 of the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore. Undated.

Ct = Commentary (*Tilaka*) of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa as given in D_9. Undated. Also as printed in Vulgate editions.

(ii) Epitomes

(1) The *Rāmopākhyāna*: Mbh. III. 258-276 (BORI, Poona, 1942).

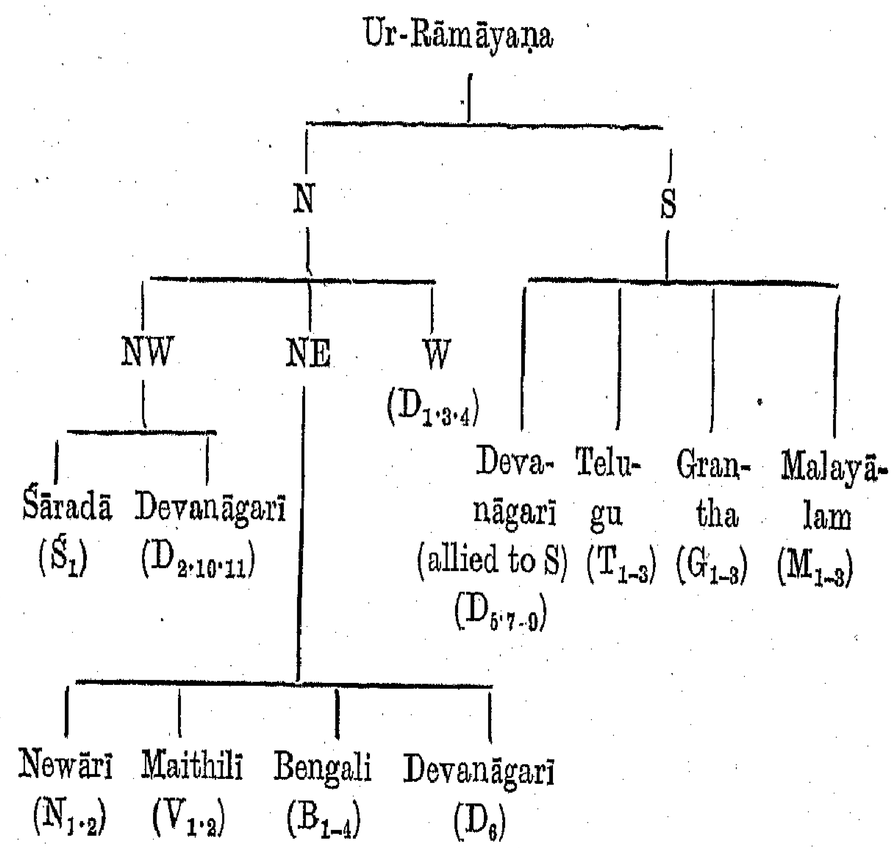
(2) *Purāṇas*—*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* III.3; IV.4 (Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, 1937).

Agni-Purāṇa Chaps. 5-11 (Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1900).

Padma-Purāṇa IV.66; IV.112; V.35 (Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1893-94) etc.

(3) The *Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī* of Kṣemendra (Kāvyamālā No. 83, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1903).

All the MSS. utilized for this *Kāṇḍa* clearly show that there are two main Recensions, Northern and Southern, each of which is further divided into several versions. This will be clear from the following pedigree of the MSS.:



Detailed Description of the MSS.

$Ś_1$

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14061. Undated. It was purchased for the Institute by Dr. S. N. Sharma of Shrinagar. Thick unglazed paper, size 11½″ × 6½″, Śāradā script.

The MS. is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas*, total number of folios for *Sundara* being 109. The folio has 14 to 16 lines to a page and about 36 to 43 letters to a line. Margins are unruled. Stanzas are unnumbered. *Sargas* are not regularly numbered. The total number of *Sargas* for *Sundara* is 100, which includes Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha*. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* appears at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its part. A single *daṇḍa* demarcates both

the halves of the stanza. Colophons, which bear significant *Sarga* names, are daubed over with red chalk and erasures, which are not many, are made by the copyist himself with black ink and orpiment. There are marginalia occasionally. Corrections are few and are *pr.m.* Transpositions of stanzas are noticed in some places. Stanzas are at times omitted. Condition fairly old. Writing fairly legible and correct. *Parasavarṇa* is generally used. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. The MS. seems to have been written by two scribes.

Though the *Kāṇḍa* is undated, it seems to be a very late exemplar.

The MS. represents the NW version.

The * passages exclusive to this MS. are: (Ins.) 217, 224, 357, 1185, 1229; (*Subst.*) 1222, 1228, 1230.

$Ñ_1$

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14156. Microfilm of MS. No. 934 of the Bir Library, Kathmandu, Nepal. Undated, Palm-leaves, size 21½″ × 2″. Newārī script.

The codex has preserved all the seven *Kāṇḍas*. Folios 377 to 505 cover the subject-matter of *Sundara*. The folio has 5 to 6 lines to a page and about 100 letters to a line. *Sargas* and stanzas are unnumbered. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* appears at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its part. So also Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara*.

For details, *vide Bālakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XV.

The scribe seems to have been changed from *Sundara* onwards since *pṛṣṭhamātrās* (contrary to the prevalent practice in earlier *Kāṇḍas*) are absent and the script is to some extent modernized.

No date is recorded at the end of *Sundara*. However, the post-colophon entry at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* gives the date as follows:

संवत् १०७६ आषाढ वदि ४ महाराजाधिराजपुण्यावलोकसोमवंशोद्भवगरुडध्वजश्रीमद्गाङ्गेयदेवभुज्यमानतीरभुक्तौ कल्याणविजयराज्ये नेपालदेशीयभाण्डशालिकश्रीआनन्दस्य कृते पाटकावस्थितपण्डितकायस्थश्रीश्रीकुरस्यात्मजश्रीगोपतिनालेखीदम् ॥

(The post-colophon entry given in the detailed account of $\tilde{N}_1$ in the *Bālakāṇḍa* was based upon a microfilm which is not clear. The above reading is from the enlarged photostat copy of $\tilde{N}_1$ recently obtained on loan from Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Director, The International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, to whom we are very thankful for his kind courtesy and cooperation. The word कायस्थ is added intralinear.)

The MS. represents the NE version.

The following * passages are exclusive to this MS: (*Ins.*) 239, 245 (A), 270, 271, 296, 309 (A), 311, 312, 315, 316, 317, 322, 328, 334, 337, 339, 340, 341, 347, 349, 350, 352, 363, 366, 372, 373, 383, 386, 387, 398, 414, 418 (A), 431, 436, 443, 445, 448, 449 (A), 450, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457, 460, 463, 466, 487, 490, 491, 496, 503, 519, 521, 522, 535, 538, 543, 544, 545, 549, 551, 552, 553, 554, 559, 561, 562, 564, 565, 567, 568, 569, 573, 588, 589, 596, 597, 626, 627, 628, 639, 665, 667, 675, 682, 684, 685, 690, 694, 713, 717, 721, 734, 735, 741, 743, 765, 786 (A), 786 (B), 813, 824, 831, 832, 833, 845, 846, 854, 856, 857, 863, 865, 868 (A), 872, 876, 877, 879, 882, 893, 895, 923, 925, 930, 938, 942, 944, 951, 1328; (*Subst*). 302, 439, 718.

$\tilde{N}_2$

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14157. This is a microfilm of MS. No. 905 of the Bir Library, Kathmandu, Nepal, dated Newārī Saṁvat 795 (A.D. 1675). It is

written on thick country paper, size 20½″ × 5″, in the Newārī script.

98 folios are devoted to the *Sundarakāṇḍa*.

For details, *vide Bālakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XV.

At the end of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, a list of the total number of *Sargas* and stanzas in each *Kāṇḍa* is provided, *pr.m.* Accordingly, the *Sundarakāṇḍa* has 43 *Sargas* and 2045 stanzas. Actually, however, the present *Kāṇḍa* has 106 *Sargas*. This number covers Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* as well as Crit. *Sargas* 63-66 of *Kiṣkindhā*.

The MS. represents the NE version.

There is only one * passage exclusive to this MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 365 (A).

V_1

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 4 (Addenda). This is a microfilm of the MS. which is in possession of the University Library, Patna. Dated Śaka 1670 (A.D. 1748). Size of the microfilm 1″ × ½″. Maithili script.

The codex has preserved all the seven *Kāṇḍas* in 535 folios and has been utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Araṇya* and *Kiṣkindhā*. Crit. *Sargas* 63-66 of *Kiṣkindhā* and Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 (mostly illeg.) of *Yuddha* are included in the present *Kāṇḍa* as its integral parts. Many *Sargas* are illegible in this *Kāṇḍa* e.g. the portion from 5.11.29 up to *Sarga* 5.19 of our Crit. Text is illegible.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XIII.

The MS. represents the NE version.

Only two * passages are exclusive to this MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 298 and 826 (A).

V_2

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14146. This is a

transcript in Devanāgarī, of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* MS. which is in possession of the Palace (Raj) Library, Darbhanga. The original MS. in the Maithilī script is dated Śaka 1772 (A.D. 1850). The total number of folios is 62 with 14 to 15 lines to a page and about 66 to 72 letters to a line. The MS. contains only the present *Kāṇḍa*.

The Devanāgarī transcript contains 290 leaves (written on one side only) of size 13″ × 8″, with 22 lines to a page and 16 letters to a line. Margins are unruled. *Sargas*, which amount to 86, are numbered, while stanzas are not. The *Sundarakāṇḍa* commences from Crit. *Sarga* 2 and ends with Crit. *Sarga* 15 of *Yuddha* in this MS. Single and double *daṇḍas* are used in first eighty-three leaves to demarcate the two halves of a stanza, while in the rest a single *daṇḍa* alone is used. Colophons with suitable *Sarga* names are written in red ink. Corrections which are very few are made in the margin either in black or red ink. Corrupt readings are at times noticed. The rule of *parasavarṇa* is generally followed. Writing legible and correct.

The post-colophon entry, giving the date of the MS. as also the scribe's name, at the end of this MS. runs as follows:

शाके १७७२ कार्तिकशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां रवौ श्रीगोनरशर्मणा लिखितमिदम् ।

The MS. represents the NE version.

The exclusive * passages peculiar to this MS. are:

(*Ins.*) 152, 221, 417, 796; (*Subst.*) 223, 227, 299

B_1

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 14125. Photo-copy *in situ* of Ms. No. 348 of the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. Undated. This MS was utilized by Dr. Gorresio for his edition, and was designated G by him. Palm-leaves. Bengali script. Size of the photograph 17¾″×2¼″.

The MS. is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas*, total number of folios for *Sundara* being 175. The MS. has been utilized for the Crit. Edition of the previous four *Kāṇḍas* also. It has 7 lines to a page and 45 to 50 letters to a line. Margins are unruled. Stanzas are unnumbered, while *Sargas* are numbered. The total number of *Sargas* for *Sundara* is 91. Crit. *Sargas* 63-66 of *Kiṣkindhā* and Crit. *Sargas* 1-12 of *Yuddha* are included in this MS. as integral parts of *Sundara*. A single *daṇḍa* is used to mark the halves of the stanza. Colophons give significant *Sarga* names. Sometimes marginal readings as well as marginal corrections *pr.m.* are found. Corrections are at times made *sup. lin.* by the scribe himself. Stanzas are rarely transposed. The condition of the original MS. is generally good; but at some places the folios are broken. Handwriting is nice, devoid of errors. Rules of *saṁdhi* are usually observed and *pṛṣṭhamātras* are commonly used. *Parasavarṇa* is generally used. The *Kāṇḍa* is copied by a single scribe.

No date is recorded at the end of *Sundara*. But the *Bālakāṇḍa* gives the date Śaka 1610 (c. A.D. 1688).

The MS. represents the NE version.

There is only one * passage exclusive to this MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 1278 (A).

B_2

Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. G. 393. Undated. Written on paper, size 18½″ × 6½″. Bengali script.

This MS. contains only three *Kāṇḍas* viz. *Sundara*, *Yuddha* and *Uttara*. It has 83 folios for *Sundara* and 12 to 15 lines to a page and 52 to 64 letters to a line. Margins are unruled. *Sargas* are numbered throughout,

while stanzas are numbered only in the latter half portion of the present *Kāṇḍa*. The total number of *Sargas* of *Sundara* is 96, which includes Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha*. Double *daṇḍas* separate the two halves of stanzas. Colophons bear suitable *Sarga* names. Red ink is used for corrections and marginal writings in some places in the beginning. Corrections which are few are made by the scribe himself, at times in margin. Additional *Sargas* and omissions are noticed. Instances of transpositions of stanzas and lines are very few. The MS. is in good condition. Handwriting very nice and correct. *Parasavarṇa* is used only in a few places. *Anusvāra* is predominantly used. *Pṛṣṭhamātrās* are used and rules of *saṁdhi* are usually followed. The MS. seems to be copied by single scribe but with different pens.

No date is mentioned at the close of this *Kāṇḍa*.

The MS. represents the NE version.

The exclusive * passages pertaining to this MS. are:

(*Ins.*) 45, 59, 68, 72, 123, 167, 193, 222, 234, 290, 293, 297, 319, 338, 358, 377, 405, 494, 517, 558, 584, 591.

B_3

Calcutta, Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, No. 94. Undated. Written on paper, size $18\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Bengali script.

The MS. has preserved only the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. It has 97 folios. The folio has 9 to 10 lines to a page and approximately 60 letters in each line. Margins are unruled. Stanzas are not numbered, while *Sargas* are generally numbered. The total number of *Sargas* is 91. Crit. Sargas 63-66 of *Kiṣkindhā* and Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara* in this MS. A single *daṇḍa* is used for separating both the halves of stanzas. Colophons give significant *Sarga* names. Corrections which are very

few in number are made by the scribe himself. Scribal errors such as रावणय for रावणाय are sometimes found; but the scribe corrects such errors *pr.m.* in margin. *Supr. lin.* readings are also found. Corrupt variants like भविता for भक्षिता are at times noticed. Transpositions of stanzas and lines are rare. Additional *Sargas* and omissions of stanzas are found. The MS. is in good condition. Writing is good and generally correct. *Pṛṣṭhamātrās* are used. *Saṁdhi* rules are strictly observed. *Parasavarṇa* is used only in a few places. *Anusvāra* is predominantly used. The entire MS. is from the pen of a single scribe.

The MS. is silent as regards the date of the MS. and name of the scribe.

The MS. represents the NE version.

The * passages exclusive to this MS. are: (*Ins.*) 71, 81, 255, 258, 413, 620, 633, 678, 688, 692, 693, 744, 748, 758, 808, 873, 906, 908, 911, 946, 969, 978, 986, 992, 993, 994, 996, 1000, 1013, 1014, 1017; (*Subst.*) 508, 914.

B_4

Calcutta, Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, No. 1434 (G.A.). Undated. Written on paper, size $18'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$. Bengali script.

This MS. contains the *Sundarakāṇḍa* only and has 149 folios. Folio 46 is missing. The folio has 7 lines to a page and 65 to 68 letters to a line. Margin is unruled. *Sargas* but not the stanzas are numbered. The aggregate number of *Sargas* is 108. Crit. *Sargas* 63-66 of *Kiṣkindhā* and Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara* in this MS. Both the halves of stanzas are demarcated by single *daṇḍas*. Colophons contain suitable *Sarga* names. Very few marginalia and corrections. Corrections are made *pr. m.* Marginal readings, over and above the original readings, are found. Additional *Sargas* and omissions of stanzas (at times haplographically) are

noticed. Stanzas and lines are transposed in very few places. The MS. is in good condition. Handwriting is neat and legible, devoid of errors. *Pṛṣṭhamātrās* are used. *Saṁdhi* rules are strictly followed. The whole MS. is copied by a single scribe.

No mention of date of the MS. and name of the scribe is noticed.

The MS. represents the NE version.

This MS. has got the following exclusive * passages: (*Ins.*) 187, 1037, 1076, 1082(B), 1095, 1105, 1278(B), 1282(C); (*Subst.*) 364, 1387.

D_1

Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, No. 825 of 1875-76. Dated Saṁvat 1650 (c. A.D. 1594). Written on old paper, size 11″ × 4¾″. Devanāgarī script.

This MS., utilized for the previous four *Kāṇḍas*, contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas* in full. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 191. It has 10 lines on each page and about 40 letters in each line. Margins are ruled. Folio numbers are written in margin. Sargas and stanzas are unnumbered. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* appears at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its part. Crit. *Sargas* 1-31 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara* in this MS. Double *daṇḍas* are used to separate both the halves of stanzas. Colophons give appropriate *Sarga* names. Very few marginalia. Corrections both *pr. m.* and *sec. m.*, are found. Some additional *Sargas* and stanzas are noticed. Stanzas are sometimes transposed. A few repetitions are to be found in this MS. The condition of the paper is old. Writing fairly legible with few errors. य is sometimes used for ज; so also ष for ख. The letter र्ध is replaced by द्ध. Scribal errors such as विष्नु for विष्णु and स्वसुरेण for श्वशुरेण are noticed.

Visarga is dropped in many cases—generally at the end of a line. The use of *pṛṣṭhamātrās* is seen. *Saṁdhi* rules are observed. The whole *Kāṇḍa* is copied by a single scribe and is complete.

The post-colophon entry at the end of this *Kāṇḍa*, giving its date, runs as follows:

संवत् १६५० वर्षे कार्त्तिकमासेऽसितपक्षे दर्शतिथौ चन्द्रवारे लिखितमिदं सुन्दरकाण्डं ॥ छ ॥

The MS. represents the W version.

The * passages exclusively found in this MS. are: (*Ins.*) 43, 49, 530, 761, 787, 790, 821, 843, 852 and 936.

D_2

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 12864. Dated Saṁvat 1716 (c. A.D. 1660). Written on old paper, size 14½×5½″ Devanāgarī script.

The MS. contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas* and was utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Bāla, Araṇya* and *Kiṣkindhā*. The MS. has 80 folios (nos. 74-154) for *Sundara*. The folio has 11 lines to a page and about 154 letters to a line. Margins are ruled in black ink. Stanzas and *Sargas* are not numbered. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* appears at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its part. Crit. *Sargas* 1-5 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara* in this MS. Black ink is used for *daṇḍas* as well as colophons; but colophons are daubed over with red colour. Colophons give significant *Sarga* names. A single *daṇḍa* demarcates both the halves of stanzas. No marginalia. Some *pr. m.* corrections are found. Stanzas are rarely omitted. Transpositions of stanzas are noticed in few places. The MS. is dilapidated in condition. Handwriting is nice, with few errors. Corrupt readings are sometimes found. *Visarga* dropped through mistake is inserted *sup. lin.*

many times. य is sometimes used for ज and *vice versa*; so also ख for ष. The letters र्म and र्ध are written as र्म्म and र्द्ध respy. No *Pṛṣṭhamātrās*. Rules of *saṁdhi* are generally followed. The *Sundarakāṇḍa* is complete.

For details regarding date and scribe, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XVII.

The MS. represents the NW version.

The * passages exclusive to this MS. are: (*Ins.*) 120, 216, 279, 397, 719, 937, 941, 953, 1193.

D₃

Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute. No. 5600. Dated Saṁvat 1787 (c. A.D. 1731). Written on paper, size 12″ × 5½″. Devanāgarī Script.

The codex is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas*, and was utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Araṇya* and *Kiṣkindhā*. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 127. It has 15 lines to a page and approximately 39 letters to a line. Stanzas are unnumbered, whlie *Sargas* are numbered. The aggregate number of *Sargas* of *Sundara* is 110. Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* appear at the end of *Sundara* as its integral parts. No marginalia. Some additional *Sargas* are found. Corrupt readings are sometimes noticed. The *Kāṇḍa* is in good condition. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. The *Kāṇḍa* is complete. The codex seems to have been copied by a single scribe.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XVII.

As stated at the end of the present *Kāṇḍa*, the scribe completed the *Sundarakāṇḍa* on Monday, the sixth day of the Bright Half of the month of Āṣāḍha in Saṁvat 1787 (c. A.D. 1731):

संवत् १७८७ अब्धींदुऋषिवसुसंख्यागते (?) अब्दे॥ आषाढशुक्ल ६ चन्द्रवारे ॥

The MS. represents the W version.

This MS. has a large number of exclusive * passages, *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 98, 102, 103, 105, 108, 112, 115, 143, 148, 182, 190, 200, 213, 252, 259, 272, 294, 641 (B), 698, 703, 762, 830, 888, 912, 947, 971, 972, 1006, 1012, 1020, 1036, 1067, 1082 (A), 1087, 1103, 1111(A), 1113, 1116(A)—(F), 1122, 1135, 1138, 1173, 1188, 1202, 1225, 1252, 1262, 1302, 1316, 1326, 1327, 1329, 1331, 1346, 1348, 1349, 1351, 1364, 1366, 1368, 1369, 1372, 1383, and App. I Nos. 3 and 6; (*Subst.*) 375, 599, 902, 967, 1161, 1165, 1172, 1181, 1186.

D₄

Jodhpur, Palace Library, Bandha No. 5. Dated Saṁvat 1788 (c. A.D. 1732). Written on paper, size 15″×6¾″. Devanāgarī script.

The MS. has preserved all the seven *kāṇḍas* and has been utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Kiṣkindhā*. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 133. It has 12 lines to a page and about 59 letters to a line. Margins are ruled. Stanzas as well as *Sargas* are unnumbered. At the end of *Sundara*, the total number of stanzas of the present *Kāṇḍa* is stated to be 4655. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* is read at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its integral part. Similarly, Crit. *Sargas* 1-31 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara* in this MS. Single and double *daṇḍas* are used at random to separate the halves of stanzas. Colophons give significant names to *Sargas*. Red ink is used for *daṇḍas*. Scribal mistakes such as (कालोग्नीम्) for कालाग्निम् are noticed; but they are corrected *pr. m* either in margin or *sup. lin.* Omissions of stanzas and lines are found. Additional *Sargas* and occasional transpositions of stanzas are noticed. The MS. is somewhat old and writing is clear, with occasional errors. The words प्रवृद्ध and विवृद्ध are usually written as प्रवृध and विवृध respy. The word लाङ्गूल is generally written as लाङ्गुल. विष्णु

is written as विष्नु. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. *Saṁdhi* rules are generally observed. The *Kāṇḍa* is copied by one person.

The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* records Saṁvat 1788 (c. A.D. 1732) as the date of the MS.

The MS. represents the W version.

The * passages exclusive to this MS. are: (*Ins.*) 116, 643, 763; (*Subst.*) 304.

D_5

Baroda, in private possession (of Prof. G. H. Bhatt). Unnumbered, Dated Saṁvat 1831 (c. A.D. 1775). Written on rough and durable paper, size 12½″ × 5¼″. Devanāgarī script. Handwriting of North India.

This codex is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas* and is utilized for the Crit. Edition of all the previous *Kāṇḍas*. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 116. The MS. contains the comm. *Śṛṅgāratilaka* of Govindarāja. The folio has approximately 14 lines to a page and about 50 and 54 letters to a line in the text and the commentary respy. Folio 49ᵃ contains the commentary portion only. The total number of *Sargas* of *Sundara* is 68 as in the Vulgate. Scribal errors such as विचिरः for विचेरः, नैरत for नैर्ऋत, श्वरैर् for स्वरैर् are noticed. The *Kāṇḍa* is copied by a single scribe.

For details, *vide Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XVI (*i.e.* D_0).

The post-colophon entry made at the end of *Sundara* indicates that the scribe completed the *Kāṇḍa* in Śrīpuruṣottamakṣetra on Sunday, the twelfth day of the Bright Half of the month of Vaiśākha in Saṁvat 1831 (c. A.D. 1775):

लिक्ष [खि] तं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्र...संवत् १८३१ वैशाखमासे सुकल [शुक्ल] पक्षे द्वादसी रिव [रवि] वारे ॥

The MS. represents the S recension and the text is usually of Govindarāja.

No exclusive * passage is found in this MS.

D_6

Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 1611. Dated Saṁvat 1837 (c. A.D. 1781). Written on old and durable paper, size 13″ × 5½″. Devanāgarī script.

This MS. contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas*, written probably by different scribes at different periods. The MS. is utilized for the Crit. Edition of all the earlier *Kāṇḍas*. It has 131 folios for *Sundara*. The central part of the first folio is kept blank. The folio has 11 lines on each page and about 40 letters in each line. Margins are ruled. Only the *Sargas* are numbered, stanzas are not. The total number of *Sargas* of *Sundara* is 106. Crit. *Sargas* 63-66 of *Kiṣkindhā* are read in the beginning of *Sundara*. Similarly, Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara*. Double *daṇḍas* in red ink are used to demarcate the two halves of stanzas. Colophons which give suitable *Sarga* names are written in red ink. Corrections are made by the scribe himself in margin. Corrupt readings are found in plenty, *e.g.* श्रुत्वया for श्रूयतां and प्राप्यम् for पश्यम्. Additional *Sargas* and omissions of stanzas are noticed. Stanzas and lines are transposed only in a few places. Condition good. Writing fairly legible, with some errors. Scribal errors like तम्रमुखः for ताम्रमुखः are found. *Saṁdhi* rules are generally followed. The whole *Kāṇḍa* is writ- *Sundara* runs as follows:

The post-colophon remark, giving the name of the scribe as also the date and place of the MS. at the end of Sundara runs as follows:

संवत् १८३७ शाके १७०२ पौषे कृष्णपक्षे १४ रविवारान्वितायां ४५ ज्येष्टा-नक्षत्रं ३९/४६ गंडयोग ४०/५३ ववकर्णे ३० लिखितं पं. श्रीदुवे खर्गराय कनोजिया टहरोली शुभस्थानं ॥

The MS. represents the NE version.

There is no * passage exclusive to this MS.

D_7

Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute, No. 1633. Dated Saṁvat 1888 (c. A.D. 1831). Machine-manufactured paper, size 12″ × 5″. Devanāgarī script. Handwriting of Rajasthan.

This codex, utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Bāla* and *Kiṣkindhā*, contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas*, total number of folios for *Sundara* being 216. The folio has 7 lines to a page and about 33 letters to a line. *Sargas* and stanzas are numbered. *Sargas* of *Sundara* amount to 68 as in the Vulgate. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. The *Kāṇḍa* is complete and is from the pen of a single scribe.

For details, *vide Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XVII.

At the end of *Uttara*, it is stated that the entire MS. was completed by Paṇḍit Śrī Tiwārī Lākhana in the Saṁvat year 1888 (c.A.D. 1831).

The MS. represents the S recension.

No exclusive * passage is found in this MS.

D_8

Poona, Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, No. 844. Dated Śaka 1698 (c. A.D. 1776). Written on paper, size 14″ × 6½″. Devanāgarī script.

This codex contains all the *Kāṇḍas* except *Kiṣkindhā* and has been utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Araṇya*. *Sundara* has 154 folios. The folio has 8 lines to a page and about 47 letters to a line. The total number of *Sargas* of *Sundara* amounts to 68 as in the Vulgate. Black ink is used for *daṇḍas* and colophons. Scribal errors are corrected in margin. So also letters dropped through

oversight are inserted in margin. विष्णु is written as विष्नु. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. *Saṁdhi* rules are generally followed. The *Kāṇḍa* is from the pen of a single person and is complete.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. VXI.

The MS. contains the commentary of Maheśvaratīrtha.

Although no date is mentioned at the end of *Sundara*, there is mention at the close of *Uttara* that the codex was completed in the Śaka year 1698 (c. A.D. 1776).

The MS. represents the S recension.

The following * passages are exclusive to this MS.: (*Ins.*) 26, 48, 132, 1115.

D_9

Jodhpur, Palace Library. Unnumbered. Undated. Written on tough paper, size 13½″ × 6″. Devanāgarī script.

This codex contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas* written probably by different scribes at different periods and is thus a composite MS. It has been fully utilized for the Crit. Edition of the previous four *Kāṇḍas*. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 212. Folio 99 is blank. It has 8 lines to a page and about 34 letters to a line. *Sargas* of *Sundara* amount to 68 as in the Vulgate. *Daṇḍas* are in red ink, while colophons are in black ink. Corrupt readings are found in big number; e.g. अशिनौ for अश्विनौ and सुगांतकालानि for युगान्तकालाग्नि. *Anusvāra* is sometimes dropped when it is required and *vice versa*. Scribal mistakes such as सासं for मासं are also noticed. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*, The *Kāṇḍa* is from the pen of a single scribe and is complete.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XV (*i.e.* Dt_1).

The MS. contains the commentary *Tilaka* of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa.

No date is mentioned at the end of *Sundara*.

The MS. represents the S recension.

No exclusive * passage is found in this MS.

D_{10}

Jodhpur, Palace Library, Bandha No. 4. Undated. Written on paper, size 13½″ × 7″. Devanāgarī script.

The MS., utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Bāla* and *Kiṣkiṇdhā*, has all the seven *Kāṇḍas*. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 88, the last folio being unnumbered. It has 18 lines to a page and approximately 40 letters to a line. Margin is unruled. Stanzas and *Sargas* are not numbered. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* appears at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its integral part. Crit. *Sargas* 1-15 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara* in this MS. There is no device to separate the halves of stanzas. Colophons contain appropriate *Sarga* names. No marginalia. Corrections are few in number and are made by the copyist himself with yellow pigment of black ink. Corrupt readings are found; e.g. दुर्वरुश्चथिता for दुर्मना व्यथिता and हृदला for अबला. Omissions of stanzas are noticed here and there. Some additional *Sargas* are found. Stanzas and lines are at times transposed. Condition good. Writing neat and legible, with some errors. *Visarga* is unnecessarily inserted in many places. The word दुःखार्ता is usually written as दुःखांता. Scribal errors such as रागवस्य for राघवस्य, देनु for धेनु, सस्वंदरं for ससुन्दरं, भ्रशं for भृशं are to be found many times. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. The *Kāṇḍa* is copied by a single scribe and is complete.

At the close of *Araṇya*, it is stated that a Brahmin by name Gopāla Khare wrote the MS. at Kalāmūla Maṭha in

Central Kashmir. Though the MS. is undated, it seems to be about 350 years old.

The MS. represents the NW version.

Only two exclusive * passages are found in this MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 76 and 881.

D_{11}

Jodhpur, Palace Library, Bandha No. 5. Dated Saṁvat 1835 (c. A.D. 1779). Written on paper, size 15″×5½″. Devanāgarī script.

The MS. has all the seven *Kāṇḍas* and was utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Kiṣkindhā*. It has 173 folios for *Sundara*, folio no. 97 being duplicated. The folio has 9 lines to a page and about 40 letters to a line. The first *Sarga* of *Sundara* appears at the end of *Kiṣkindhā* as its integral part, while Crit. *Sargas* I-15 of *Yuddha* are relegated to *Sundara*. Colophons and *daṇḍas* are written in black ink. Colophons contain significant *Sarga* names. Very few marginalia. Additional *Sargas* are found. Stanzas are sometimes omitted. Corrupt readings are found in plenty; e.g. ममाप्राप्तु for मयात्मा च. Scribal mistakes are also noticed. *Visarga* is sometimes unnecessarily inserted; e.g. समुपचक्रामः for समुपचक्राम. जीवितम् is always written as जीवतम्. No *pṛṣṭhamātrās*. The *Kāṇḍa* is written in one hand and is complete.

For details, *vide Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XIX, (i.e. D_{13}).

The post-colophon remark at the end of *Uttara* indicates that the entire MS. was completed by a Brāhmin named Ṛṣirāma at Kṛṣṇagaḍh on the 5th day of the Bright Half of the month Kārtika in the Saṁvat year 1835 (c. A.D. 1779).

The MS. represents the NW version.

The *passages exclusive to this MS. are: (*Ins.*) 114, 266, 590, 669, 699, 739, 910, 1152, 1388.

T_1

Madras, Adyar Library, No. 72372. Undated. Written on palm-leaves, size 18½″ × 2″. Telugu script.

The MS., utilized for the Crit. Edition of the previous four *Kāṇḍas*, contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas*. Folios 177 to 217 cover the portion of *Sundara*. Sargas of Sundara amount to 68 as in the Vulgate, *Sarga* numbers being mentioned in words. The whole MS. is written in one hand.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XIX.

Although no date is recorded anywhere in the MS., the MS. seems to be more than 500 years old.

The MS. represents the S recension.

No exclusive *passage is found in this MS.

T_2

Madras, Adyar Library, No. 75597. Undated. Written on palm-leaves, size 19¼″ × 2″. Telugu script.

This MS., utilized for the Crit. Edition of all the earlier *Kāṇḍas*, contains only the first six *Kāṇḍas* written by different scribes. *Araṇya* and *Sundara* seem to have been written by one scribe. The total number of folios for *Sundara* is 23. The back side of folio 23 is blank. The folio has 16 to 18 lines to a page and 124 to 130 letters to a line. *Sarga* numbers are stated in words. *Sundara* has 67 *Sargas* in all, Vulgate *Sargas* 59 and 60 (=*Sargas* 57 and 58 of the Crit. Edition) being combined into one *Sarga*. The word क्रूर is written as कूर.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XX.

The MS. is not dated anywhere; but it seems to be 350 years old.

The MS. represents the S recension.

The exclusive * passages peculiar to this MS. are: (*Ins.*) 285, 659, 818, 1049, 1128, 1140, 1209, 1337, 1354 and App. I, No. 10.

T_3

Madras, Adyar Library, No. 74122. Dated Śaka 1730 (A.D. 1808). Written on palm-leaves, size 19¼″ × 2¼″. Telugu script.

The MS. has preserved all the seven *Kāṇḍas* and has been utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Kiṣkindhā*. Folios 134 to 169 comprise the subject-matter of *Sundara*. The folio has 13 to 16 lines per page and about 102 to 106 letters per line. *Sargas*, which amount to 68 as in the Vulgate, are numbered in words. The word क्रूर is written as कूर. The MS. is written in one hand.

For details, *vide Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XX.

As stated at the end of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the MS. was completed by Lakṣmaṇa on Wednesday, the tenth day of the Dark Half of the month of Caitra in the Śaka year 1730 (*i.e.* 20th April 1808).

The MS. represents the S recension.

Only two * passages are exclusive to the MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 16 and 1356.

G_1

Baroda, Oriental Institute, No. 6362. Dated Kollam 993 (A.D. 1818). Written on palm-leaves, size 16½″ × 2½″. Grantha script.

This MS. is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas* and is utilized for the Crit. Edition of all the previous *Kāṇḍas*. Folios

94[a] to 119 cover the portion of *Sundara*. *Sargas* are numbered in words and they are 68 as in the Vulgate. No additions and omissions. Corrupt readings like अंडरेश्वरः for अण्डजेश्वरः are of rare occurrence. The word ताम्रमुखः is written as तांम्रमुखः. *Saṁdhi* rules are generally followed. The whole MS. is from the pen of a single scribe.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XX.

As stated at the end of *Uttara*, the MS. was completed by Śrīnivāsan on Friday, the 28th day of the month of Mithuna (named here as Āṇi) in Hastanakṣatra in Kollam year 993 called *Bahudhānya saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1818).

The MS. represents the S recension.

The following * passages are found exclusively in this MS.: (*Ins.*) 27(A), 851, 1023, 1201, 1281.

G_2

Trippunithura (Travancore-Cochin, now Kerala State), Maharaja's Grantha Library, Sanskrit College, No. 152. Undated. Written on palm-leaves, size 17″ × 1¾″. Grantha script.

The MS. is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas* and is utilized for the Crit. Edition of the previous four *Kāṇḍas*. Folios 191 to 234 comprise the portion of *Sundara*. *Sargas*, 68 as in the Vulgate, are numbered in words. No additions and omissions. The scribal peculiarities of G_1 are shared by this MS. also. *Saṁdhi* rules are mostly observed. The entire MS. is from the pen of a single scribe.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XXI.

Though the MS. is undated, it seems to be about 300 years old.

The MS. represents the S recension.

Only one * passage is exclusive to this MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 1219.

G_3

Ahmedabad, in private possession (of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī). Unnumbered and undated. Written on palm-leaves, size 15″ × 2¼″. Grantha script.

The MS. contains all the seven *Kāṇḍas* and has been utilized for the Crit. Edition of the four earlier *Kāṇḍas*. Folios 83 to 102 comprise the subject-matter of *Sundara*. *Sargas* of *Sundara* amount to 68 as in the Vulgate and bear numbers in words. No additions and omissions. Some lines are illegible. Repetitions of stanzas are found in few places. The word ध्रुवं is written as ध्रुवं. The scribal peculiarities of G_1 are shared by this MS. also. The MS. is written in one hand.

For details, *vide Araṇyakāṇḍa*, Intro. p. XXI.

The MS. represents the S recension.

Only two * passages are exclusive to this MS., *viz.*, (*Ins.*) 206 and (*Subst.*) 1373.

M_1

Trippunithura (Travancore-Cochin, now Kerala State), Maharaja's Grantha Library, Sanskrit College, No. 158. Dated Kollam 865 (c. A.D. 1690). Written on palm-leaves, size 20″ × 2″. Malayālam script.

The MS., utilized for the Crit. Edition of the previous four *Kāṇḍas*, is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas*. The portion of *Sundara* is covered by folios 162 to 207. The folio has about 13 lines to a page and 94 to 96 letters to a line. Margins are unruled and folio numbers are written therein. Stanzas are unnumbered. *Sargas* are numbered in words and they are 68 as in the Vulgate. *Daṇḍas* are not

used; the writing is continuous. No marginalia, no corrections, no additions. Stanzas are rarely omitted. Transpositions of stanzas and lines are few in number. The MS. is not in good condition: the central part as also the two ends of folios are broken. Some *pādas* are damaged. Writing is clear and correct with few errors. The following scribal peculiarities are noticed: कर्ता is written as कर्त्ता, धर्म as धर्म्म, र्य as र्य्य, ध्वज as द्धज, and दर्पित as दर्प्पित. The rules of *saṁdhi* are observed. The whole MS. is written in one hand.

The *Uttarakāṇḍa* states that the MS. was completed by Candraśekharan, son of Karakujathilirikkum Pillai Kutti for Śivatirattu Mullamaṅgalattu Śivantiravāsi on the 29th day of the month of Kārtika in the Aṇṭu (*i.e.* Kollam) year 865 (A.D. 1690).

The MS. represents the S recension.

The * passages exclusive to the MS. are (*Ins.*) 644, 780, 884 and 1008.

M_2

Trippunithura (Travancore-Cochin, now Kerala State), Maharaja's Grantha Library, Sanskrit College, No. 953. Dated Kollam 817 (c. A.D. 1642). Written on palm-leaves, size 12½″ × 2″. Malayālam script.

This MS. contains only three *Kāṇḍas viz. Sundara Yuddha* and *Uttara* and has 310 folios in all. The total number of folios for Sundara is 70. Two blank folios are inserted: one at the beginning and the other at the end of the MS. The folios have 11 lines to a page and 55 to 60 letters to a line. Margins are unruled and folio numbers are written therein. Stanzas are unnumbered. *Sargas* are numbered in words. *Sargas* of *Sundara* amount to 68 as in the Vulgate. *Sargas* generally begin with श्रीरामाय नमः. There

is no device to sperate the *ślokārdhas* or even ślokas. Corrections by a different hand are found. No marginalia, no additions. Stanzas are very rarely omitted. Instances of transpositions of stanzas and lines are very few. Condition good. Handwriting is nice and correct. The scribal peculiarities of M_1 are shared by the present MS. also. *Saṁdhi* rules are observed. The whole MS. is written in one hand.

As stated at the end of *Uttara*, the MS. was completed on Wednesday, the 13th day of the Dark Half of the month of Kumbh in the Aṇṭu (*i.e.* Kollam) year 817 (c. A.D. 1642):

आण्टु ८१७ मत कुंभमासं अव्विट्टं (श्रविष्ठा) कृष्णपक्षत्रयोदशि बुधवारं अश्नत्ते मिथुनराशिकोण्ड (मिथुनलग्ने) रामायणं.

The MS. represents the S recension.

The following * passages are found exclusively in this MS.: (*Ins.*) 29, 332, 629, 655(A), 655(B), 658, 955, 1265, 1392.

M_3

Chundampatta, *via* Pattambi, South Malbar; in private possession (of C. Chitrabhanu Nambudiri). Unnumbered and undated. Written on palm-leaves, size 27½″ × 2.1″. Malayālam script.

The Ms. is complete in seven *Kāṇḍas* and is utilized for the Crit. Edition of *Kiṣkindhā*. Folios 120-148 comprise the subject-matter of *Sundara*. It has 12 lines to a page and 155 to 160 letters to a line. Margins are unruled; *Kāṇḍa* name, *Sarga* numbers and folio numbers are all written in margin. Stanzas are not numbered. *Sargas* of *Sundara* are 68 as in the Vulgate and they are numbered in words. There is no device to separate the halves of stanzas or even stanzas. No marginalia, no omissions,

Corrections are few in number and they are *pr.m.* Stanzas are transposed in few places. Lacunae are found in four places. The MS. is in very good condition and its writing is very nice and correct. The scribal peculiarities of M_1 are showed by this MS. also. खड्ग is written as खट्ग. Rules of *saṁdhi* are observed. The entire MS. is from the pen of a single scribe.

The MS. is undated; however, it seems to belong to a relatively modern period.

The MS. represents the S recension.

The single * passage exclusive to this MS. is: (*Ins.*) 848.

The Southern Recension

That the S recension represented by its three versions has on the whole preserved a uniform text has been noted in regard to the first four *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇā* by their respective editors. The same holds good in the case of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, too as will be seen from the following analysis.

Appendix Passages: Out of a total of 14 Appendix passages, only two, nos. 11 and 13, are insertions in S recension (all MSS.) only. No. 5 is a S insertion but the length of the passage varies in different MSS. No. 1 consisting of 73 lines is a S insertion which however is seen also in composite codices D_3 and D_6. No. 2 (12 lines) is common to S recension and NW and W versions of the N recension.

Star Passages:

The following exclusive star passages are found in all the MSS. of the Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam versions, *i.e.*, the entire S recension:

Insertion: 65, 67, 80, 82, 94, 113, 153, 158, 160, 162, 169, 170, 172, 174, 175, 184, 191, 195, 204, 236, 243, 262, 276, 277, 314, 406, 469, 499, 518, 528, 542, 548, 610, 613, 614, 645, 648, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 660, 664, 666, 704, 706, 716, 720, 727, 731, 732, 745, 751, 779, 836, 839, 842, 853, 860, 867, 875, 913, 917, 919, 932, 948, 956, 959, 965, 979, 1029, 1032, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1064, 1072, 1077, 1080, 1084, 1088, 1089, 1092, 1098, 1100, 1119, 1127, 1129, 1133, 1136, 1144, 1160, 1189, 1191, 1192, 1195, 1200, 1226, 1232, 1238, 1239, 1246, 1248, 1250, 1253, 1279, 1285, 1296, 1324, 1380, 1384 = 114.

Substitute: 1245 = 1.

The following star passages are common to a smaller or larger number of MSS. of the S recension only:

Insertion: 33, 63, 244, 284, 295; 359, 473, 477, 479, 493, 520, 534, 536, 537, 574, 585, 594, 609, 611, 612, 619, 624, 631, 662, 663, 683, 705, 801, 802, 850, 861, 874, 961, 962, 963, 995, 1003, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1055, 1056, 1058, 1059, 1062, 1070, 1073, 1074, 1083, 1091, 1123, 1151, 1234, 1259, 1266, 1268, 1280, 1288, 1355, 1365 = 60.

Substitute: Nil.

Two things stand out clearly from this analysis: (i) S recension has not remained static since it first received the text from the North. It has as many as 175 exclusive additional passages in addition to the Appendix passages; which indicates that in course of time the text of the S recension has undergone inflation. (ii) It is noteworthy that out of a total of 175 exclusive star passages, as many as 115 are common to *all* the codices of the S recension—which indicates the uniformity of the text-tradition in the S recension which is otherwise discernible on the whole.

These conclusions are borne out by the fact that individual codices of the S recension have a negligible number of exclusive star passages—a total of 33, which would

be reduced to a mere 22, if T_2 and T_3 (which are noticed in detail below) are excluded. M_2 is a codex utilized for the first time: it has nine exclusive insertions. However, it by no means follows that the text preserved in the S recension carries a dead—rubber-stamp—uniformity. As a matter of fact, each one of the MSS. carries variants which are peculiar to itself or common to one or more MSS. of the S recension or sometimes even common to one or more of the codices of the different versions of the N recension. The variations in the readings of the different codices of the S recension would appear to be of the same kind as are found in the codices of the N recension. It would therefore be erroneous to believe that the uniformity of the S recension is artificial or unnatural.

T_2

There are, moreover, two MSS.—T_2 and T_3—which reveal significant affinity with the MSS. of the N recension. T_3 shows not infrequently variants which are common to one or more MSS. of the N recension. The deviations of T_2 from the text-tradition of the S recension are, however, significant by virtue of their nature as well as number. In the first place, T_2 has an Appendix passage (No. 10) of 33 lines as an insertion exclusive to itself. Secondly, it has nine exclusive inserted star passages all its own (for details see the description of the codex). This is indicative of the fact that this codex is not toeing the line of the S recension.

More important is the fact that T_2 discloses positive agreement with MSS. of N recension in passages which are not found in any other MS. of the S recension. It has the following nine star passages in common with N recension (two or more MSS.): 679, 680, 999, 1045, 1273, 1320, 1342, 1357, 1370. It has one passage, no. 453, in common

with $\tilde{N}_1$ only. Together with $D_{7\text{-}9}$ which are composite Southern codices, T_2 reads the following 15 star passages in common with N recension (one or more MSS.): 1101, 1114, 1143, 1272, 1274, 1291, 1300, 1305, 1318, 1319, 1323, 1332, 1338, 1344, 1359. Together with $D_{7\text{-}9}$, it reads 1102 in common with N MSS.

In the matter of variants, T_2 is seen to go with N recension much more frequently than with MSS. of S recension. This codex, therefore, while retaining its basic character as a Southern codex, does provide an indication, which other S MSS., too, more or less support, that the S recension is not a closed recension in the sense that it has not altogether resisted additions or modifications without sacrificing the unity of its text-tradition. That this recension has preserved a more ancient text than the N recension has been pointed out, among others, by the editors of the preceding *Kāṇḍas* of this edition; this view is amply justified by the state of language and grammar in this *Kāṇḍa* also.

N recension

The Northern recension is represented by the NE version ($\tilde{N}$ V B D_6), the NW version ($\tilde{S}$ $D_{2\text{-}10\text{-}1}$) and the W version ($D_{1\text{-}3\text{-}4}$). The NE version includes the codex $\tilde{N}_1$ which, as is already known, is our earliest MS. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* so far available. The editors of the previous *Kāṇḍas* have already pointed out that despite its being a NE codex by virtue of its script and provenance, it is generally in agreement with the NW version. Let us discuss its character in detail.

$\tilde{N}_1$

This codex assumes additional—perhaps, intriguing—importance for the *Sundarakāṇḍa* and the following two *Kāṇḍas* for two reasons. Firstly, the last three *Kāṇḍas*

beginning with the *Sundarakāṇḍa* are written by a scribe different from the one who copied the first four *Kāṇḍas*. Secondly, there is no mention of the date of copying or any other personal data anywhere in any of these three *Kāṇḍas*.

The codex contains a post-colophon entry at the end of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, i.e., at the end of the first *Sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* here, which is as follows:

संवत् १०७६ आषाढ वदि ४ महाराजाधिराज-पुण्यावलोक-सोमवंशोद्भव-गरुडध्वज-श्रीमद्-गाङ्गेयदेव-भुज्यमान-तीरभुक्तौ कल्याणविजयराज्ये नेपालदेशीय-भाण्डशालिक-श्रीआनन्दस्य कृते पाटकावस्थित (कायस्थ *int. lin.*) पण्डित-श्री-श्रीकुरस्यात्मज-श्रीगोपतिनालेखीदम् ।

Prof. G. H. Bhatt, the former General Editor, had reproduced this entry in the description of $\tilde{N}_1$ in his Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa* (p. xv) but he had realized that his reading was far from satisfactory and accepted the correctness of Dr. Mirashi's reading (cf. B.O.R.I. Vol. XXIII[1942], p. 293) in a footnote on the first page of his Supplementary Introduction to the same *Kāṇḍa*. The original wrong reading was somehow reproduced in the Introduction (p. ix) to the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. This entry states that the copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was made by Gopati, son of Śrikura, in the Saṁvat year 1076 which has been unanimously identified with Vikrama Saṁvat 1076 and is thus equivalent to 1020 A.D. We are not here concerned with the historical question of the identity of the king mentioned in this entry. What is more important for our purposes is the fact that the first scribe Gopati went on with the work of copying the *Rāmāyaṇa* from *Kāṇḍa* to *Kāṇḍa* without mentioning his name or date anywhere until he came to the end of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* at the close of which he affixed a colophon giving the date of copying, the name of the ruling king and his own iden-

tity as well in a manner which clearly shows that he had completed his task. Now, it is impossible to believe that a scribe would be commissioned to copy the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* up to the end of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* only. The question naturally arises as to what made the scribe suddenly to end his assignment and affix his signature, as it were, at the end of his part of the work by way of the post-colophon entry.

The second question relates to the date of the copying of the last three *Kāṇḍas* beginning with the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. As no date is mentioned anywhere in this part of the MS., it is difficult to state with any degree of certainty what margin of time separates, if it does at all, the copying of the first four *Kāṇḍas* from that of the last three in this codex. In fact, had it not been for the continuous numbering of the folios of *Sundara* and the two following *Kāṇḍas*, a more fundamental question would have naturally risen whether these three *Kāṇḍas* really form part of a single MS. whose first four *Kāṇḍas* were copied by Gopati. We may also take note of the fact that the first four *Kāṇḍas* as well as the last three are copied continuously *i.e.* without leaving any space between the end of the preceding *Kāṇḍa* and the beginning of the following ones. It is only at the end of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* that this uniformity is broken: the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* ends on folio 376[a] with only a single line written on it while the *Sundarakāṇḍa* is commenced on folio 377[a].

$\tilde{N}_1$—its character

Prof. G. H. Bhatt has stated in the Introduction to the *Araṇyakāṇḍā* that $\tilde{N}_1$ appeared to lean towards the NW version rather than the NE version to which it belonged. Prof. D. R. Mankad, in his Introduction to the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, endorsed this observation of Prof. Bhatt

on the strength of the evidence of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa.* While in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* $\tilde{N}_1$ has 185 star passages (87 ins. + 98 subst.) in common with NW version, it has 186 star passages (95 ins. + 91 subst.) in common with NW version in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa.* This clearly shows that the affiliation of this NE codex to the NW version is not accidental or casual. This is confirmed negatively by the fact that $\tilde{N}_1$ has 40 star passages (16 ins. + 24 subst.) in common with the NE version (one or more MSS.) in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa,* while in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* it has merely 3 inserted star passages common to NE version (one or more MSS.). It is obvious that while $\tilde{N}_1$ remains steady in its relation with NW version in both the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* and *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa,* its relation with NE version, so far as the evidence of the star passages goes, deteriorates substantially in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa.*

This tendency of $\tilde{N}_1$ to agree with NW version rather than NE version continues to be as pronounced in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* as in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa.* Let us consider the evidence in detail.

At the outset, we find that in regard to the extent of the *Sundarakāṇḍa,* $\tilde{N}_1$ agrees with NW MSS. rather than with NE MSS. For, while the NE MSS., *viz.,* $\tilde{N}_2$ V_1 $B_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ D_6 include *Sargas* 63-66 of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (Cr. Ed.) in the *Sundarakāṇḍa,* $\tilde{N}_1$ agrees with NW and W MSS., *viz.,* $\tilde{S}_1$ $D_{1\cdot2\cdot4\cdot10\cdot11}$ and reads the first *Sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* (Cr.) as the last *Sarga* of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa.* That this agreement of $\tilde{N}_1$ with NW MSS. is not accidental becomes clear when we consider the evidence provided by the star passages in the *Sundarakāṇḍa.*

Note: NW stands for NW + W MSS. in this section.

$\tilde{N}_1$ going with NW (one or more MSS.) only:

Ins: 30, 38, 46, 58, 96, 100, 106, 138, 154, 282, 288, 370, 442,

449, 456, 458, 461, 468, 475, 481, 483, 488, 512, 514, 523, 546, 555, 572, 581, 587, 600, 601, 708, 709, 712, 723, 725, 740, 746A, 756, 757, 769, 782, 788, 791, 810, 816, 820, 822, 827, 834, 869, 880, 915, 920, 929, 943, 954, 982, 1033, 1061, 1065, 1068, 1071, 1126, 1130, 1139, 1150, 1153, 1156, 1218, 1236, 1241, 1249, 1289, 1290, 1310, 1317, 1321, 1330, 1336, 1376, 1391, = 83.

Subst: 32, 247, 516, 575, 579, 593, 595, 598, 803, 828, 878, 883, 886, 896, 973, 988, 1001, 1028, 1142, 1148, 1184, 1203, 1210, 1221, 1271, 1282 B, 1309, 1371A, 1382 = 29.

$\tilde{N}_1$ going with NW (one or more MSS.) only:

137, 273 = 2 (both insertions)

The obvious conclusion is reinforced by negative evidence, too.

NE (two or more MSS.) only without $\tilde{N}_1$:

Ins: 6B, 8, 40, 44, 55, 78, 85, 87, 89, 90, 97, 107, 131, 133, 135, 145, 150, 159, 171, 181, 192A, 207, 211, 233, 235, 248, 250, 260, 261, 269, 274, 291, 301, 318, 320, 321, 323, 329, 331, 344, 345, 346, 348, 361, 362, 365, 374, 379, 402, 409, 412, 424, 426, 428, 440, 446, 447, 462, 467, 472, 500, 506, 507, 509, 513, 547, 556, 557, 560, 621, 622, 634, 638, 640, 661, 677, 696, 747, 753, 755, 770, 781, 783, 805, 806, 826, 835, 862, 898, 901, 924, 940, 1025, 1034, 1035, 1038, 1042, 1047, 1060, 1066, 1079, 1154, 1171, 1237, 1295, 1298, 1301, 1308, 1314, 1335, 1345, 1350, 1381, 1390 = 114.

Subst: 12, 31, 36, 61, 64, 66, 69, 69A, 70, 101, 109, 111, 117, 127, 134, 139, 140, 141, 166, 176, 177, 178, 194, 196, 198, 202, 208, 218, 219, 226, 230, 232, 253, 254, 256, 268, 303, 305, 336, 343, 353, 376, 380, 422, 429, 430, 433, 437, 451, 459, 474, 478, 489, 492, 495, 504, 576, 580, 586, 592, 636, 637, 668, 701, 702, 711, 728, 733, 749, 750, 773, 785, 792, 793, 794, 797, 799, 811, 812, 814, 829, 837, 838, 858, 899, 900, 905, 926, 935, 939, 975, 990, 991, 997, 998, 1004, 1022, 1026, 1046, 1054, 1057, 1158, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1227, 1240, 1260, 1264, 1276, 1283, 1311, 1322, 1340, 1374, 1375, 1377, 1379 = 118.

NW (two or more MSS.) only without $\tilde{N}_1$:

Ins: 5, 7, 14, 15, 17, 19, 25, 28, 34, 47A, 53, 60, 74, 75, 84, 88, 91, 92, 95, 96A, 110, 119, 130, 351, 381, 411, 420, 444, 482, 566, 632, 635, 700, 707, 724, 767, 772, 775, 957, 1016, 1018, 1027, 1112, 1282D, 1282E, 1333 = 46.

Subst: 2, 6A, 21, 73, 129, 246, 434, 438, 441, 485, 602, 670, 771, 817, 819, 1313 = 16.

Besides, in regard to variants, $\tilde{N}_1$ is found to go more frequently with NW MSS. than with NE MSS. The evidence provided by the *Sundarakāṇḍa* considered both positively and negatively would compel the conclusion that $\tilde{N}_1$ is a filiate of NW version rather than a codex of NE version to which it belongs.

$\tilde{N}_1$ has, in fact, gone further. It appears that it has developed its own identity—independently of any version. When Prof. Mankad remarked in his Introduction to the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, 'the point worthy of note is this that there are some cases in which $\tilde{N}_1$ does not go with NE, NW or S *i.e.* it has its own tradition' (p. xxix), he could not have had in mind the evidence of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* only; because in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* $\tilde{N}_1$ has only *two* exclusive insertions (nos. 148 and 1233) and *two* exclusive substitute passages (nos. 183 and 614)—which would be negligible as evidence on which to base any opinion. Probably, he had the evidence of the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* in mind: for, in that *Kāṇḍa*, $\tilde{N}_1$ has 47 exclusive passages (38 ins. + 9 subst.). In comparison with the practically total absence of exclusive passages in the *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍ* and *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, the existence of as many as forty-seven exclusive passages in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* is striking and marks a deviation in the character of this codex in that *Kāṇḍa*.

In the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, this deviationist tendency of $\tilde{N}_1$

reveals itself quite clearly. It has in this *Kāṇḍa* a total of 131 exclusive passages (128 ins. + 3 subst.) all to itself. For details, see the description of the codex. This is practically one-tenth of the total number of star passages in the whole *Kāṇḍa* and is quite remarkable for a single MS. to register.

Lastly, N recension (NW two or more MSS. + NE two or more MSS.) going without $\tilde{N}_1$ in the following star passages:

4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 35, 51, 56, 57, 62, 99, 163, 183, 186, 203, 205, 209, 210, 214, 327, 382, 570, 571, 582, 630, 646, 647, 649, 650, 710, 754, 774, 776, 1134, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1213, 1275, 1276, 1286, 1287, 1297, 1299, 1312 = 46

Out of these, six passages *viz.* 51, 214, 1134, 1213, 1276, 1286, are not supported by D_3. Besides, the following eight passages of N recension are not supported by any MS. of W version:

392, 393, 578, 974, 989, 1030, 1315, 1334.

There is not a single star passage which is common to $\tilde{N}_1$ and W version exclusively.

There is not a single star passage in which $\tilde{N}_1$ agrees alone with one or more MSS. of S recension.

The following conclusions may be drawn on the basis of this evidence of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*:

1. $\tilde{N}_1$ represents a text-tradition of the Northern recension after the original common text had been divided into the Northern and the Southern recensions.
2. $\tilde{N}_1$ individually reveals no influence of the S recension.
3. $\tilde{N}_1$ represents a text-tradition of the N recension before its bifurcation into NW and NE versions

occurred; because 54 star passages which are exclusive to the N recension are absent in $\tilde{N}_1$. This would be possible only if the text-tradition common to NW and NE recensions developed after the text-tradition represented by $\tilde{N}_1$ had separated from it.

4. The text-tradition represented by $\tilde{N}_1$ later came under the influence of NW version after the bifurcation of N recension into NW and NE versions took place, as the 112 star passages (83 ins. + 29 subst.) which $\tilde{N}_1$ has in common with NW only would show.

5. At the same time, the text-tradition of $\tilde{N}_1$ was itself undergoing inflation as indicated by the 131 exclusive star passages which are not found in any other codex.

6. All these stages of development were completed before 1020 A.D., the date of the codex.

Before concluding these observations regarding $\tilde{N}_1$, it is worth noting that the individualistic tendency of $\tilde{N}_1$ represented by its own exclusive passages is fluctuating: in *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, it is practically non-existent; it emerges in a definite form in *Araṇyakāṇḍa* (with 47 exclusive passages), subsides in *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (with 4 exclusive passages) and appears again in a pronounced manner in *Sundarakāṇḍa* (with 131 exclusive passages). Obviously, we have to wait for the evidence of the last two *Kāṇḍas* before arriving at a final assessment of the character of this codex.

Other NE MSS.

$\tilde{N}_2$ and B_1 continue to remain steady in the text-tradition represented by NE version. But the other three co-

dices of Bengali version, *viz.*, $B_{2\text{-}4}$ which are utilized for the first time show a varying degree of fluctuation as indicated, for example, by the number of exclusive star passages in each one of them. More particularly, B_3 and B_4 are seen sometimes to agree with MSS. of NW version and at others recording their own individual variant readings. B_4 has twelve additional lines at the end of Appendix passage no. 12 which it has in common with other N MSS.

W version

The question of the existence of an independent Western version was first mooted by Prof. G. H. Bhatt in his Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa;* but he later revised his opinion in the Introduction to the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* and stated that the MSS. in question should be included in NW version as there was not enough evidence to warrant the postulation of an independent Western version. Before Prof. Bhatt revised his opinion in 1963, the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* had been published and its editor, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, had seen no need to differ from Prof. Bhatt's opinion and accepted an independent W version represented by three MSS. Prof. D. R. Mankad, editor of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa,* took note of the shift in Prof. Bhatt's view, examined the question in relation to *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* and came to the conclusion that the acceptance of an independent W version would be justified.

It is only natural that this important question should be investigated in relation to the *Sundarakāṇḍa.* There are three MSS., *viz.*, $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ involved in the problem so far as this *Kāṇḍa* is concerned. We shall examine the evidence furnished by each one of them.

We may note in the beginning that in regard to the extent of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ agree with NW MSS. in reading the first *Sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* (Cr.) as the

last *Sarga* of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*. As regards the end of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, all N MSS. except B_1 $D_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$ read *Sargas* 1-15 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (Cr.) in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. D_1 and D_4 stand apart from all the other MSS. of both the recensions in reading *Sargas* 1-31 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (Cr.) as part of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*.

Let us examine the three codices individually on the basis of star passages.

D_1

Exclusive passages: 43, 49, 530, 761, 787, 790, 821, 843, 852, 936 (all insertions).

It has only one passage—no. 52—in common with NE only and none at all in common with NW only. It has two insertions—no. 51 and 945—and one subst. passage, no. 889, in common with NW and NE versions taken together. It has no passage in common with S recension only.

D_4

Exclusive passages:

Ins.: 116, 643, 763; *Subst.*: 304

D_4 agreeing with NE only: Nil

" " " NW only: 442, 632, 635

" " " N recention: *Ins.*: 408, 435, *Subst.*: 809

" " " S recension: Nil.

This analysis shows that there is hardly anything distinctive about these two MSS., that they are individually not influenced by S codices so far as star passages are concerned, that on the whole they are N MSS., D_1 having a single star passage in common with NE but none with NW, and D_4 having three star passages in common with NW but none with NE.

This assessment of their character remains unaffected when the two MSS. are considered together:

D_1 and D_4 have one insertion (531) and one substitute passage (3) exclusive to them together.

They have the following star passages in common with N recension (one or more MSS. only):

Ins: 104, 154, 164, 214, 367, 369, 385, 403, 607, *791*, 1040, 1075, 1124, 1125, *1126*, 1132, *1147*, 1213, *1218*, *1236*, 1257, (Nos. in italics being found only in $\tilde{N}_1$ among NE MSS.).

Subst: 124, 190, 604, 605, *896*, *973*, *976*, *988*, 1134, 1137, *1148*, 1183, *1184*, *1203*, 1216, *1221*, 1286, (Nos. in italics being found only in $\tilde{N}_1$ among NE MSS.).

D_1 and D_4 together have no star passage common with S recension only.

Next, let us consider D_1 and D_4 each in combination with D_3. The picture emerging from the above detailed consideration does not change materially, although the impact of D_3 is not imperceptible.

D_1 and D_3

—have the following star passages exclusive to them:

Ins: 18, 39, 47A, 50, 671, 676, 722, 760, 870, 885, 892, 903, 916, 918, 958, 968, 985, = 17.

Subst: 22.

—have in all 24 star passages in common with N recension out of which

(i) 5, 7, 19, 84, 88 are insertions common to NW version (one or more MSS.) only,

(ii) 6, 9, 10, 57, 62, 83, 93, 464, 868, 952, 1197, are insertions and 35, 54, 56, 73, 1243 are substitute passages common to N recension (one or more MSS. of NW and NE versions),

(iii) 410, 816 are insertions and 32 a subst. passage common to NW (one or more MSS.) and $\tilde{N}_1$ only from NE version.

—have only five star passages common to S recension (one or more MSS.: 20, 24, 27, 529, 927) (all *insertions*).

Now let us consider D_3 and D_4 together.

D_3 and D_4

—have five exclusive star passages: 118, 142, 515, 798, 964 (all *insertions*).

—have 465, 501, 511, 646, 672, 909, 1231 (*ins.*) and 670 (*subst.*) in common with N recension (one or more MSS.).

—have 456, 514, 601, 712, 740, 756 (*ins.*) and 883 (*subst.*) in common with NW (one or more MSS.) and $\tilde{N}_1$ only from NE version.

—have no star passage common to S recension only.

D_3

The picture undergoes a significant change when we examine D_3 individually and $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ all together. Considered individually, it has two Appendix passages (Nos. 3 and 6) consisting of a total of 75 lines (33 + 42) exclusively to itself. Besides, it has 68 inserted and 9 substitute passages, making a total of 77, exclusively to itself. (For details, see description of the codex). This is a clear indication that D_3 is not moving in the groove of any particular version or recension.

Moreover, D_3 has

—482 (*ins*). and 1313 (*subst.*) in common with NW (one or more MSS.) only.

—1223 (*ins.*) and 122, 149, 1220 (*subst.*) in common with NE (one or more MSS.), only.

—173, 404, 470, 483, 571, 582, 746A, 928, 983, 1110, 1139, 1149, 1150, 1233, 1275, 1278. 1282B, 1287, 1297, 1299 (*ins.*) and 125, 212, 1277, 1294, 1312 (*subst.*) in common with N recension (one or more MSS of NW + NE versions).

—126, 168, 263, 264, 686, 1007, 1011, 1131, 1207, 1212 (all *ins.*) in common with S recension (all MSS.) only.

D_3, thus, appears individually to be a misch-codex, deviating from NW version, too, unlike D_1 and D_4. The fact that it has ten star passages in common with the entire S recension indicates how, unlike its allied codices, it is individually influenced by S recension.

When $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ are considered collectively, the incidence of deviation rises.

$D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$

—have the following 16 star passages exclusive to them:

Ins: 121, 238, 308, 382A, 526A, 527, 618, 623, 642, 966, 987, 1063, 1120, 1353.

Subst: 225, 231.

—go with N recension (one or more MSS. of NW + NE versions) only:

Ins: 4, 128, 144, 157, 163, 180, 183, 185, 192, 203, 205, 209, 210, 212, 228, 241, 242, 275, 278, 283, 289, 300, 307, 309, 310, 313, 324, 326, 327, 330, 333, 351, 356, 360, 368, 371, 382, 384, 391, 399, 407, 416, 418, 425, 464, 476, 480, 484, 497, 524, 525, 532, 533, 539, 541, 563, 570, 577, 603, 606, 617, 630, 641, 641A, 647, 650, 673, 674, 681, 689, 695, 697, 707, 710, 736, 737, 738, 742, 746, 752, 754, 759, 764, 766, 767, 768, 774, 776, 777, 784, 786, 789, 795, 807, 823, 844, 855, 859, 864, 866, 887, 897, 931, 960, 980, 1010, 1015,

1021, 1069, 1082, 1107, 1117, 1118, 1141, 1146, 1155, 1187, 1190, 1196, 1217, 1224, 1293, 1304, 1343, 1371 = 125.

Subst : 99, 136, 155, 179, 186, 201, 237, 240, 245, 249, 257, 281, 286, 287, 306, 325, 342, 355, 432, 505, 550, 583, 608, 616, 649, 681, 714, 715, 729, 730, 778, 800, 804, 815, 825, 840, 841, 847, 849, 907, 921, 922, 970, 984, 1002, 1009, 1019, 1024, 1045, 1050, 1090, 1094, 1104, 1159, 1182, 1198, 1199, 1208, 1211, 1214, 1215, 1235, 1242, 1244, 1247, 1251, 1254, 1256, 1258, 1282, 1303, 1325, 1378 = 73.

—have one subst. passage (no. 220) only in common with NE version without $\tilde{N}_1$.

—have the following star passages in common with NW (one or more MSS.) and $\tilde{N}_1$ only:

Ins : 100, 106, 138, 282, 288, 370, 400, 401, 421, 423, 442, 449, 458, 461, 468, 475, 481, 512, 516, 523, 546, 552, 572, 587, 600, 708, 709, 723, 725, 757, 769, 782, 788, 810, 820, 822, 827, 828, 834, 869, 880, 886, 894, 915, 920, 929, 943, 954, 982, 999, 1033, 1061, 1065, 1068, 1156, 1241, 1249, 1271, 1289, 1290, 1310, 1317, 1321, 1330, 1336, 1339, 1376, 1382, 1391 = 69.

Subst : 247, 421, 579, 593, 595, 598, 803, 810, 878, 1001, 1028, 1071, 1142, 1210, 1309, 1371 A, 1382 = 17.

—have the following star passages in common with NW (one or more MSS) only:

Ins : 130, 354, 381, 411, 420, 767, 771, 772, 775, 817, 1018, 1027 = 12.

Subst : 129, 434, 438, 485, 510, 819 = 6.

—have only three star passages in common with S recension (one or more MSS.) only:

1, 502, 526 (all *insertions*).

On the basis of these data, it may be stated that $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ together represent a text-tradition which, so far as star

passages are concerned is practically unaffected by the S recension; that the text-tradition is essentially based on the N recension; however, this tradition is totally unaffected by NE version exclusive of $\tilde{N}_1$ which, as we have already seen, is a representative of the NW version. The relation of $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ (together) with NW and $\tilde{N}_1$ appears rather significant. $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ have only 18 star passages (12 ins. + 6 subst.) exclusively in common with NW version (one or more MSS.). This contrasts sharply with the 86 star passages (69 ins. + 17 subst.) which they have in common with NW (one or more MSS.) version plus $\tilde{N}_1$. It would appear therefore that after the NW version separated from the NE version, its text continued to grow through additions which are also received in $\tilde{N}_1$ and $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ which therefore represent a later stage of development. Thereafter, however, $\tilde{N}_1$ and D_2 continued to develop each on its own, as the very large number of star passages exclusive to each of the two would show.

A broad survey of the variants exclusive to each one of these codices revealed the proportion to be: D_1: D_3: D_4 = 5:28 : 2 and $D_{1\cdot3}$: $D_{1\cdot4}$: $D_{3\cdot4}$: $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ = 13:45:1:16.

Putting all these facts together, it appears that $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ —*more particularly* D_3—represent a text-tradition which is based on but not identical with NW version and show distinctive peculiarities in such number as would justify the hypothecation of a separate version—called W version —represented by them.

The Extent of the Sundarakāṇḍa

S recension is unanimous in regard to the extent of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* which is the one accepted in this edition. N recension is, however, divided both in regard to its beginning and its ending. And this division is, as might only be expected, version-wise. The NE version

except $\tilde{N}_1$ includes the last four *Sargas* (63-66) of the *Kiṣkiṇdhākāṇḍa* in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, while $\tilde{N}_1$ and NW MSS. read the first *Sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* as the last *Sarga* of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*. As for the end, N recension MSS. are unanimous in extending the *Sundarakāṇḍa* over a few *Sargas* at the beginning of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. All of them except B_1 $D_{1,2,4}$ include *Sargas* 1-15 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (Cr. ed.) in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. B_1 includes only 1-12 *Sargas* and D_2 only 1-5 *Sargas* of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*; while D_1 and D_4 extend the *Sundarakāṇḍa* so as to include the first thirty-one *Sargas* of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

We may refer to the view of some scholars regarding the extent of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* in the earlier stages of the growth of the epic. For instance, Dr. V. S. Agrawala and Rai Krishnadas state: "Some MSS. (in NW recension) carry the title *Sundarakāṇḍa* up to the end of *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, treating the latter as the *Laṅkā-parvan* of the former. This shows that at one time only the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and the *Sundarakāṇḍa* formed the whole text up to Rāma's coronation."—JAOS Vol. 82 (1962), p. 578. Suffice it to say here that the evidence of the MSS. in this respect should be treated with great circumspection. For it is not unlikely that the scribes were not as serious in this matter as they might be expected to be. For instance, D_4 designates किष्किन्धाकाण्ड as उद्योगकाण्ड in the colophons of *Sargas* 49 and 50: D_{10} has the colophon: लङ्कापर्वणि सीतायाः etc., at the end of *Sarga* 27 and लङ्कापर्वणि हनुमद्विकल्पः at the end of *Sarga* 28 of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*.

In Kṣemendra's Rāmāyaṇamañjarī

Kṣemendra's Rm. which generally follows the NW recension does so in this respect also. The contents of the first *Sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* are found included in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* in st. 510-573.

Rm. lists the following topics which constitute the contents of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* in this edition (additional titles are placed within brackets):

In Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa—1. [हनुमतः महेन्द्रपर्वतारोहणम् (st. 510-533)]; 2. मैनाकदर्शनम् (534-47); 3. सुरसादर्शनम् (548-559); 4. सिंहिकावधः (560-64); 5. सागरलङ्घनम् (565-73).

In Sundarakāṇḍa—6. चन्द्रोदयः (1-47); 7. अन्तःपुरपरिचयः (48-121); 8. अशोकवनिकाप्रवेशः (122-136); 9. सीतादर्शनम् (137-161); 10. सीतातर्जनम् (162-280); 11. त्रिजटास्वप्नः (281-297); 12. हनुमत्-सीतासंभाषणम् (298-381); 13. अशोकवनिकाभङ्गः (382-413); 14. किंकरवधः (414-431); 15. जम्बुमालिवधः (432-439); 16. मन्त्रितनयवधः (440-443); 17. दुर्धरादिवधः (444-452); 18. अक्षवधः (453-462); 19. हनुमद्ग्रहणम् (463-483); 20. लङ्कादीपनम् (484-570); 21. हनुमत्पुनरागमनम् (571-596); 22. मधुवनविलोपनम् (597-632); 23. वानरप्रत्यागमनम् (633-643); 24. [हनुमता सीतावृत्तान्तनिवेदनम् (644-660)] 25. समुद्रदर्शनम् (661-688); 26. [रामस्य सुग्रीवं प्रति आदेशः (689-693)]; 27. [रामस्य शोकप्रलापः (694-705)].

Nos. 25, 26 and 27 of this list are included in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* in the Rm. but they form the contents of *Sargas* 1-5 of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* in this edition. Rm. agrees with D_2 in this respect.

The Story in the Sundarakāṇḍa

In the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, Hanumān flies over the strip of the ocean in an attempt to find out Sītā's whereabouts. On the way, he shoves aside the mountain Maināka which had emerged from the water to provide a resting platform to him; he had to use his wits against Surasā whom the gods had sent to test his strength; and had to kill Siṁhikā, the female demon, who blocked his progress. After landing on the island, he scans the beauty of the city of Laṅkā nestling on the Trikūta mountain. Wondering how to get inside this strongly guarded capital of Rāvaṇa, he finally enters it at evening time, assuming the size of a cat. The

moon is scattering its silver sheen over the landscape, while Hanumān searches the city and the palaces of Rāvaṇa and his councillors and the Aśokavanikā where he is lucky to find Sītā surrounded by female demons. In the early hours of the morning, Rāvaṇa lustfully visits Sītā and coaxes, cajoles and threatens her in an attempt to secure her willing submission. Sītā, however, spurns his advances whereupon he orders the female demons to bend Sītā to his will by any and every means and leaves the place.

The attempts of the female demons to persuade or frighten Sītā fail. They threaten to cut the distressed Sītā to pieces. But Trijaṭā intervenes and warns them all against the terrible fate that would overtake Rāvaṇa as indicated by the dream she had had and asks them to treat Sītā kindly.

Hanumān who was perched on a tree was a witness to all these happenings: he proclaims the glory of Rāma and his family and, then presenting himself before Sītā, assures her about his identity and narrates the events leading to his arrival there. He then offers her the ring which Rāma had sent: Sītā is greatly moved: she describes her own plight and warns that Rāma should rescue her from Rāvaṇa within two months after which Rāvaṇa had threatened to dispose of her if she remained unyielding. Hanumān asks for a token of recognition for Rāma whereupon Sītā hands over her crest-jewel to him and describes the crow-incident which was known in its details to no other person except Rāma and herself.

Hanumān, desiring to test the strength of Rāvaṇa, destroys the Aśoka garden and kills the guards of the garden. Rāvaṇa sends bands of armed demons and his son Akṣa who is killed by Hanumān. Then Indrajit comes

on the scene: he fetters Hanumān with the Brāhma-missile and marches him off to Rāvaṇa who out of rage orders that the tail of Hanumān be tied with rags, soaked in oil and set afire. With his tail ablaze, Hanumān roams about the city, setting everything on fire and in the end plunges into the ocean to extinguish the blaze on his tail. After taking leave of Sītā who luckily had remained unharmed, Hanumān flies back across the ocean to the Mahendra mountain where the monkeys were anxiously waiting for his return. He is warmly received by Aṅgada and other monkeys who are all pleased with the success of his mission. On their way back, the monkeys, being full of elation, ravage the Madhuvana which was beloved of Sugrīva, the monkey-chief and belabour the monkey-guards. Then, they all meet Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva and narrate Hanumān's successful flight to and from Laṅkā. Rāma anxiously asks for details about Sītā whereupon Hanumān offers him the crest-jewel and gives a detailed account of how Sītā was living in the hope of her rescue by Rāma himself.

The contents of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* with some details are attested, apart from other testimonia, by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṁśam* $1_{260^{cd}-65}$ and in *Meghadūtam* st. इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा etc.

Critical Remarks

The contents of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* with some details contain internal checks in regard to its contents. Whatever experiences Hanumān goes through in the course of his flight and stay in Laṅkā are recounted by him before the monkeys on his return and then before Rāma on the Prasravaṇa mountain. Broadly speaking, therefore, Hanumān's recapitulation of his experiences would act as a check on the contents of the earlier *Sargas* of the *Kāṇḍa*. There

is discernible a high sense of propriety and relevance in the manner of Hanumān's reporting to his superiors because he reports to Aṅgada and other monkey-chiefs his experiences during the flight and the scenes in Rāvaṇa's palace and his witnessing how Rāvaṇa threatened Sītā and his own conversation with Sītā. It is only proper that the details of his conversation with Sītā, her laments, her reference to the highly personal details of experience in the Crow-incident are all recounted before Rāma. This peculiarity of containing built-in checks marks off the *Sundarakāṇḍa* from others *Kāṇḍas*.

The *Critical Notes* are designed to deal with questions of detail as well as larger questions which ordinarily would be dealt with in the Introduction. The *Notes* are therefore to be treated as a part of the Introduction. We shall notice here some of the episodes or aspects of episodes which have not been discussed in the *Notes*. Before taking them up, however, we shall discuss the significance of the title of this *Kāṇḍa*.

The Title of the Kāṇḍa

The title '*Sundarakāṇḍa*' is unusual, so to say. For, while the titles of *Ayodhyā-*, *Araṇya-* and *Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas* are derived from place-names and *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is also optionally known as *Laṅkākāṇḍa*, the names of the *Bāla-* and *Uttara-kāṇḍas* are based on the earlier and later life of the hero *i.e.*, they are based on the element of time. The title of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* conforms to neither of the two principles of designation and thus stands apart from the rest in this respect. Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 124) has opined that the lovely descriptions in which this *Kāṇḍa* abounds gave it its name—*Sundara Kāṇḍa* (the Beautiful Section). Winternitz is inclined to the same view. Cf. *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I

(1927), p. 490. It should be noted in this connection that the word सुन्दर occurs only once in 6.15 in this *Kāṇḍa* in a quite inconspicuous manner. The question of the origin of the title is brought no nearer to solution by taking into consideration the possible larger extent of this *Kāṇḍa* in the earlier stages of the growth of the epic.

Episodes and Incidents

Surasā episode—The details of this episode and the sequence of the three encounters which Hanumān faced and overcame are set forth in the *Critical Notes*. But the larger question regarding the authenticity of this episode remains, despite the fact that it is supported by the MSS. The question arises because of the internal checks referred to above.

The difference in location of the Surasā episode in the first *Sarga* in NW and W versions on one side and NE version on the other inside the same—Northern—recension may raise doubts which are only strengthened by its omission (which is unlikely to be due to haplology) in *Sarga* 56 in NW and W (except D_3) versions. As a matter of fact, the very motivation of this episode looks absurd in the context and makes the episode suspect. It is said that gods wanted to test Hanumān's prowess and therefore requested Surasā (mother of gods or Nāgas) to obstruct his progress (बलं पराक्रमं च ज्ञातुमिच्छामहे). That Hanumān who is the only one among monkey-leaders capable of crossing the ocean and who has undertaken this task in the larger interests of the gods should have to face an additional obstacle deliberately created by the gods with a view 'to test his strength' is a proposition too unreal to be convincing. Very probably, this episode is inserted here to counterbalance the Siṁhikā episode: indeed, according to the evidence of some MSS., it is no more than a duplication of

the Siṁhikā episode in conception and details of description.

That the Siṁhikā episode is an organic part of the contents of the *Sundarakāṅḍa* is beyond doubt. When Sugrīva briefs the monkey-leader about the topography and land-marks of the Southern direction, he states that in the midst of the southern ocean there lived a female demon, known as Aṅgārakā, who lived on creatures by catching hold of their shadows:

दक्षिणस्य समुद्रस्य मध्ये तस्य तु राक्षसी ।
अङ्गारकेति विख्याता छायामाश्रित्य भोजनी ॥—IV-40.26

He mentions Maināka, too; but there is, naturally, no mention of Surasā for, as we learn from this *Kāṇḍa*, she was a temporary obstacle engineered by gods and not a permanent feature of the southern ocean.

The evidence of the *Rāma-upākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata* (III.258-276) is also significant. *Mbh.* III.266.57 reads:

ततः पितरमाविश्य पुप्लुवेऽहं महार्णवम् ।
शतयोजनविस्तीर्णं निहत्य जलराक्षसीम् ॥

This statement about the destruction of a water-demoness clearly refers to the destruction of Siṁhikā. (It may be borne in mind that Surasā is not destroyed; and that she, mother of gods, is described as assuming the demon form). The version of the Rāma story utilized by Ru. has, therefore, no knowledge of the Surasā episode.

Rm. knows the Surasā episode with its motivation as conceived in the present *Kāṇḍa*. On the other hand, the *Agni Purāṇa* refers to the Maināka and Siṁhikā episodes but does not mention the Surasā episode. Cf. दृष्ट्योत्थितं च मैनाकं सिंहिकां विनिपात्य च । —AP. 9.3. The *Padma Purāṇa* is

silent about all the three episodes and therefore sheds no light on the question under consideration.

Lastly, it should be noted that the two tables of contents given in the first and the third *Sargas* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* do not mention any of these three episodes.

It is apparent on the evidence before us that the Surasā episode, notwithstanding the support of the MSS., did not form part of the original text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and therefore is a later addition.

Laṅkā-devī episode—Relegated to the Appendix I (No. 1). It is supported by the entire S recension and by D_3 and D_6 from the N recension. D_8 is a misch-codex, influenced by S recension. The statement in the 70th line of this passage contradicts the statements made earlier by all these MSS. regarding the manner of Hanumān's entry into the city.

Puṣpaka-varṇana—Relegated to the Appendix I (No. 2). The passage is supported by S recension and NW and W versions of N recension: it is omitted in NE version. This passage is omitted in the edition of Gorresio as well as that of Amarnath Thakur in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series (wherein it is *Sarga* 13 and the footnote adds: क and घ पुस्तकयोरयं सर्गो नास्ति । p. 3565). The passage is highly artificial in language and style and empty of ideas behind high-sounding expression.

Gorresio has omitted *Sarga* 6 (= 7 B. ed.) also, despite the fact that it is supported by all NE MSS. too.

Appendix passage no. 4—is a NW and W insertion of 70 lines. Apart from the amplification contained therein, the passage states that Hanumān had to wait for a whole day before he could convince himself about the identity of Sītā at night-fall.

Appendix passage no. 5—is a S insertion. It amplifies the details of Trijaṭā's dream and unreservedly describes Rāma not only as Viṣṇu but the Highest Brahman. Cf. lines 18 ff.

The Kāka episode—is fully supported by both the recensions in *Sarga* 36 where Sītā narrates it before Hanumān at the latter's request for a means of recognition for Rāma and again in *Sarga* 65 where Hanumān gives a description of the plight of Sītā, hands over to him the crest-jewel sent by Sītā and repeats the *Kāka*-incident to convince Rāma about the authenticity of the information brought by him. It may be recalled that this episode is not included in the constituted text of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* by its editor, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, for want of adequate MS. support.

The *Kāka*-episode is attested by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṁśam* 12.22-23, *Ru.* 266.67, *Agni Purāṇa* 9.14, *Padma Purāṇa* 6.269.194 ff and Rm. 5.369-372. The *Padma Purāṇa* version is slightly different from all other accounts towards the end: it states that at the request of Sītā Rāma spared the crow through mercy; there is no mention of the crow losing one eye for his misadventure.

Akṣa-vadha episode—is fully supported by the MSS. It is attested by Kālidāsa, *Raghu.* 12.63, *Agni P.* 9.17, *Padma P.* 6.269.286 (रावणस्य सुत is clearly अक्ष). Ru., however, does not refer to the destruction of Akṣa.

The first table of contents in *Bālakāṇḍa* refers to 'the crushing of the brave Akṣa' (1.1.60) but the second table in the third *Sarga* of the same *Kāṇḍa* is silent about it.

Laṅkā-dahana episode—is supported by both the recensions. It is attested by Kālidāsa, *Raghu.* 12.63, Ru. 266.68[ab], *Agni P.* 9.22, *Padma P.* 6.269.288, Rm. 5.484-570.

Both the tables of contents refer to the burning of the city of Laṅkā. Cf. I. 1.62 and 3.23.

Jacobi, after a careful investigation of the evidence, considers both the *Akṣa-vadha* and *Laṅkā-dahana* episodes as later additions. Cf. *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 31 ff.

Madhuvana episode—is described in *Sargas* 59-62. The MS. evidence is discussed in the Critical Notes on 1274*. Jacobi (*op. cit.* p. 37) holds that the incident of the spoliation of Madhuvana interferes with the smoothness of the narrative and therefore is a later interpolation.

The arguments of Jacobi can be understood but are such as leave room for a different and equally valid approach to the problem. He has made out a strong case against the *Laṅkā-dahana* episode being a part of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the course of his reference to the 'ape' in Hanumān which the reciters and poets would be tempted to exploit to the full, he makes a reference to the devastation of Madhuvana by the monkeys who were elated at their success in the mission. It appears that while the crux of Jacobi's argument remains valid, the appraisal of the Madhuvana episode has suffered from its being assessed from what may be described as a subsidiary stand-point. Let us see how.

It would be readily conceded by every one, I hope, that the successful completion of a rather difficult assignment generates a sense of elation in everyone. Vālmīki was a poet; and the author of a *poem* like the *Rāmāyaṇa* could not possibly miss or forego the description of this natural reaction in the host of monkeys bursting with the joy of a mission successfully carried out. What the monkeys would have done would be nothing more than taking some liberty with things usually forbidden to them. While returning, they might have tresspassed on the Madhuvana,

the preserve of the monkey chieftain Sugriva, and plucked fruits and helped themselves with the exhilarating fruits-juices, ignoring the protests of the guards. This would be not only intelligible but natural enough. There is evidence to show that originally this was the only manner in which the monkeys dealt with the Madhuvana—they 'enjoyed' it. For instance, *Ru.* (266.26) states: मधुवनं भुञ्जते पवनात्मजः। Ru. thus refers to the forcible enjoyment of the Madhuvana by Hanumān, Aṅgada and their companions. This reading (भुञ्जते) is supported by all MSS. utilized for the Critical Edition of the third *Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata.* The *Agni P.* is perhaps more explicit when it states: अङ्गदाद्यैः पीत्वा मधुवने मधु। जित्वा दधिमुखादींश्च (9.23). It clearly asserts that the elated monkeys drank *Madhu* in the Madhuvana, despite the protests of Dadhimukha and others, which were brushed aside . The *Padma P.* in keeping with its tendency to pass over some details in this context makes no mention of the Madhuvana at all. Rm. lists the topic as *Madhu-vilopana* but describes the drinking of *Madhu* by the monkeys who played pranks characteristic of their kind and the overpowering of Dadhimukha by Aṅgada who pressed him to the ground and 'broke' some of his limbs. Actually while introducing this incident, Rm. states that Aṅgada permitted them 'to enjoy the festival of drinking *Madhu*' (यथेष्टमत्र क्रियतां मधुपानाशनोत्सवः। 5.626).

Finally, it may be noted that the first table of contents in the first *Sarga* of the *Bālakāṇḍa* makes no mention of the Madhuvana episode while the second table in the third *Sarga* of the same *Kāṇḍa* refers to the forcible enjoyment of *Madhu* by the monkeys. Cf. मधूनां हरणं तथा। (st. 23) This should not straightaway be taken as indicative of this episode being a later interpolation. For, while the first table of contents is, as believed by scholars, earlier than the second, it sometimes requires explanation in matters of detail. For instance, the disputed *Akṣa-vadha* episode is mentioned in the first table but omitted in the second.

There is, therefore, evidence to show that originally the exuberant monkeys indulged in drinking *Madhu* and taking liberties with the Madhuvana, being quite unmindful of the protests of the guards. On this natural foundation, the later reciters built, as argued by Jacobi, the superstructure of the fights and fisticuffs and the devastation of the Madhuvana. The *Bhoga* (enjoyment) of the Madhuvana was distorted into its *Bhaṅga* (destruction)—how easy it is in Sanskrit to change भुञ्जते into भञ्जते। The layers of the superstructure are not difficult to discern.

Principle followed in the Constitution of the text

The principles followed in the Constitution of the text of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* are the same as those which were formulated and enunciated by the late Prof. G. H. Bhatt, the first General Editor of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* in his Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa.* I should like to add for clarification that when S MSS. are divided among themselves as well as against N MSS. which, too, are not uniform, a reading has been chosen, which would reasonably account for the variants in both the recensions.

5 AN ECHO OF A BUDDHIST PRACTICE IN RĀMĀYAṆA IV. 6.4

Rāma and Sugrīva consecrate their mutual friendship in the presence of fire and promise to help each other. Sugrīva who has learnt about the background of the wanderings of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, proceeds to console Rāma and pledges all assistance in the search for Sītā. He says:

भार्यावियोगजं दुःखं नचिरात्त्वं विमोक्ष्यसे ।
अहं तामानयिष्यामि नष्टां वेदश्रुतिं यथा ॥ IV.6.4

"You will soon shed your distress caused by separation from your wife. I shall bring her back like a Vedic text which has been lost."

The aim of this note is to discuss the simile and its implications. In the first place, it may be noted that all MSS and commentaries except Ś, D_1 and D_{12} utilized for the constitution of the text of the Critical Edition read this simile. N_1, D_{8-10} Ct read देवश्रुतीमिव instead of वेदश्रुतिं यथा. The variant देवश्रुतीमिव appears to represent an attempt to avoid the tautology of वेदश्रुतिम्. Obviously, the simile employed by Sugrīva at this point must refer to something which was quite wellknown. देवश्रुति, apparently the name of a female, is not known as such in ancient literature. As it is, the reading of the Critical text is fully attested and justified.

Now, Prof. D. R. Mankad who has edited the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* of the Critical Edition says in the Critical Notes on this stanza: "Note the simile. It shows that Vedic *śrutis* were often lost and restored." This observation of the Editor is of a piece with general observations ordinarily made by scholars under similar circumstances. But in the present case, the generalization seems to be more facile than true.

As is well-known, Vedic tradition consisted in oral recitation and transmission of the text from generation to generation not merely in the *Saṁhitā* form but in additional forms like *Pada, Krama, Jaṭā* etc., which held the text secure beyond erosion or elision. At the same time we know how many Vedic recensions had flourished at one time or another but have been lost practically beyond redemption. Had there been any practice of restoring lost Vedic texts, the total loss of a sizable mass of Vedic literature would not have come about.

However, quite definite information in regard to the question of Vedic texts which were lost is provided by the well-known Mimāṁsā rule: विरोधे त्वनपेक्षमसति ह्यनुमानम् । *Jaim. Sū.* I.3.3. This *sūtra* discusses the authority enjoyed by a *Smṛti* text *vis-a-vis* a Vedic text. A *Smṛti* statement has no independent authority: its authority is derivative—derived from the support of a *Śruti* text. Therefore a *Smṛti* text which is supported by an extant Vedic text remains authoritative. If, however, a *Smṛti* text is contradicted by an extant Vedic text, the latter—the *Śruti* text—remains authoritative and the *Smṛti* text will be defunct—not operative (अनपेक्षम् ।). Lastly, and this is the kind of situation with which we are concerned, if there is a

Smṛti statement which is neither supported nor contradicted by an extant Vedic text, an inference has to be made that a Vedic text supporting the *Smṛti* statement must have once existed but has been lost now. This procedure is adopted on the basis of the conviction that the author of a *Smṛti* text would be so staunch in his loyalty to the *Veda* that he would never make a statement which would not be in consonance both with the letter and the spirit of the *Veda*. Therefore, if there is a *Smṛti* statement for which there is nothing in the Vedic text either in support or contradiction, it is to be presumed that the author of the *Smṛti* text must have relied upon a Vedic text available to him but which has since been lost.

The testimony and implications of this *Nyāya* are clear enough. A Vedic text which was lost was not restored—its existence was only presumed in order to invest the *Smṛti* text with authority.

Probably, the simile नष्टां वेदश्रुतिं यथा betrays the influence of a Buddhist convention. When the Buddha was informed that no monk in a monastery knew or could recite *Pātimokkha* and was asked for guidance, he gave the following directions: तेहि भिक्खवे, भिक्खूहि एको भिक्खु सामन्ता आवासा सज्जुकं पाहेतब्बो–गच्छा'वुसो सङ्खित्तेन वा वित्थारेन वा पातिमोक्खं परियापुणित्वा आगच्छा'ति। *Mahāvagga* (Bom. Univ. Edn.) II.2.1.3. Buddha advised, then, that a *Bhikkhu* from among those monks should be immediately sent to a nearby monastery and should be asked to learn the *Pātimokkha* in full or in the abridged form and return. Here, then, is the Buddhist practice of restoring a lost text by learning it from elsewhere. The simile under consideration compares Sītā with a Vedic text on account of her purity but elaborates the comparison from a non-Vedic i.e. Buddhist convention.

6 'THE NALA EPISODE AND THE RĀMAYĀṆA' : A FOOTNOTE

In his article 'The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyaṇa',[1] Dr. Sukthankar has shown that Sudeva's soliliquy on seeing Damayantī in the course of his wanderings in search of her in the *Nalopākhyāna* in *Mbh*, III.50-78 (Critical Edition) is strikingly different in language, thought and style from the preceding and following *Adhyāyas*, that it betrays contextual discrepancies and that 'almost all the lines forming this soliloquy of Sudeva recur almost *verbatim* in the long soliloquy of Hanumat in the *Sundarakāṇḍ* (*adhy.* 18 ff ed. Gorresio) of the *Rāmayāṇa* at the time when he first sees Sītā in the Aśoka grove of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā'. He demonstrated the close similarity—amounting to actual identity in most of the lines—of thought and expression by presenting the verses from the two epics in parallel columns and concluded

1. Originally published in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas, C.I.E.*, and reprinted in *Sukthankar Memorial Edition*, Vol. I, pp. 406-15.

that 'the idea of this soliloquy of Sudeva in the *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the *Rāmāyaṇa*' (p. 413).

When Dr. Sukthankar investigated this problem, he had to rely on the printed editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which were available, because no Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was in existence then. For his purpose, he utilized Gorresio's edition, though he had also consulted 'Bombay Editions' which in fact represent the Southern recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Now that a Critical Edition of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (published by the M. S. University of Baroda) is available, it would be interesting to study the problem a little more closely.

Gorresio's edition is based on Bengali MSS and therefore is a representative of the North-Eastern version of the Northern recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The fact that the verses in Sudeva's soliloquy (hereinafter called the Nala passage) are identical with those in the soliloquy of Hanumat in Gorresio's edition would indicate that the NE version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the source of the Nala passage. How far this inference is correct can be examined in the light of the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Below is given a concordance of the verses with two columns added to the two which were given by Dr. Sukthankar, for facility of reference.

Mbh. III (*Āraṇyakaparvan*)		*Rām.* V (*Sundarakāṇḍa*)	
1	2	3	4
Vulgate (emended)	Crit. Edn.	Gorresio's Edn.	Crit. Edn.
68.8	65.7	18.4	13.19
68.9	65.8	18.22	13.25
68.10ab	65.9ab	18.23cd	13.26cd
68.10cd	65.9cd	18.27ab	14.6ab
68.11	65.10	18.24	13.27
68.12	65.11	18.26	13.28cd-29ab
68.13ab	65.12ab	19.15cd	*424
68.13cd	65.12cd	18.16cd	13.35ab
68.14ab	65.13ab	21.14ab	17.13cd
68.14cd	65.13cd	21.15cd	17.15ab
68.15ab	65.14ab	21.14cd	17.14 ab
68.15cd	65.14cd	21.15ab	17.14cd
68.16ab	65.15ab	21.16cd	17.16ab
68.16cd	65.15cd	21.17ab	17.16cd
68.18ab	65.17ab	19.23cd	14.24ab
68.18cd	65.17cd	19.24ab	14.24cd
68.19ab	65.18ab	19.25cd	14.26ab
68.19cd	65.18cd	19.26ab	14.26cd
68.20ab	65.19ab	19.26cd	14.27ab
68.20cd	65.19cd	19.27ab	14.27cd
68.21ab	65.20ab	19.27cd	14.28ab
68.21cd	65.20cd	19.28ab	14.28cd
68.22ab	65.21ab	19.28cd	} *427
68.22cd	65.21cd	19.29ab	
68.23ab	65.22ab	19.22cd	14.23ab
68.23cd	65.22cd	19.23ab	14.23cd
68.24	65.23	19.32	14.5
68.25	65.24	29.6	28.6
68.26ab	65.25ab	——	28.7ab
68.26cd	65.25cd	29.7ab	28.7cd

A scrutiny of the readings in the Nala passage and those in the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows that the former agrees with Gorresio and NE MSS as against W, NW and S MSS of the *Rāmāyaṇa:*

Nala passage[2] (*Mbh.* III.65)	Gorresio and NE MSS	W, NW and S MSS of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Cr. Edn.)
7^a मन्दम्	मन्दम्	मन्द
7^b अप्रतिमेन ताम्	अप्रतिमेन ताम्	रुचिरप्रभाम्
7^d प्रभाम्	प्रभाम्	शिखाम्
8^d उपपादयन्	उपपादयन्	उपपादिभिः
10^a श्यामाम्	श्यामा	सुभ्रूम्
13^b राहुग्रस्तनिशाकराम्	°निशाकराम्	°स्तेन्दुमण्डलाम्
13^c दीनाम्	दीनाम्	शुष्काम्
13^d शुष्कस्रोतां नदीमिव	शुष्कस्रोतो नदीमिव (except $Ñ_2$, D_6)	नदीं विस्रावितामिव
14^a विध्वस्त°	विध्वस्त°	उत्कृष्ट° (D_4 विध्वस्त°)
14^c हस्तिहस्तपरिक्लिष्टाम्	°क्लिष्टाम्	°परामृष्टाम्
22^d लब्ध्वेव	लब्ध्वेव	प्राप्येव
24^d °लालसाम्	°लालसाम्	कांक्षिणीम् (NW MSS discrepant)

Moreover, that the Nala passage has drawn upon the NE version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is clearly shown by the fact that its St. 12ab, *viz.*, विदर्भसरसस्तस्माद्दैवदोषादिवोद्धृताम्। has its original—indeed, with necessary changes demanded by the context—in the hemistich इक्ष्वाकुसरसस्तस्माद्रावणेनोद्धृता बलात्। which is purely a NE reading not known to any other MS of the N recension or the S recension.

The natural conclusion that the Nala passage has drawn upon a MS of the NE version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is, however, rendered difficult by the fact that its St. 25ab, *viz.* अयमाश्वासयाम्येनां पूर्णचन्द्रनिभाननाम्। has been taken from a

2. All references to the *Mbh.* are to the Critical Edition.

source other than NE version because neither Gorresio nor any of the four Bengali MSS utilized for the Critical Edition of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* reads this line. As Dr. Sukthankar has stated, this half-verse is found in the Bombay editions which represent the Southern recension. The Critical Apparatus of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* in the Critical Edition shows that this half-verse is found in NW and W versions of the Northern recension as well as in the MSS of the S recension, besides $Ñ_2$ and D_6 of the NE version. This fact would raise the possibility that the Nala passage has utilized a source which was not confined to, or which did not merely represent, the Gauḍa version only. As a matter of fact, the Nala passage contains many readings which are different from those in Gorresio's text but agree with those in NW or W MSS of the *Sundarakāṇḍa; e.g.,*

Nala passage	Gorresio and NE MSS	NW and W MSS
11^a चारुपद्मपलाशाक्षीम्	पद्मपत्रविशालाक्षीम्	सीतां पद्मपलाशाक्षीम्
11^d पूर्णचन्द्रप्रभामिव	°निभामिव of Gorresio supp. by B_1 only	°प्रभामिव
13^c पतिशोकाकुलाम्	°कातुराम्	$Ñ_1$ $D_{1,2,4,10,11}$ °काकुलाम्
18^c एषा विरहिता तेन	एषा तस्यानुरागेण	एषाहि ($Ś_1$ D_{10} वि) रहिता तेन
18^d शोभनापि न शोभते	शोभतेऽप्यनलङ्कृता	$Ś_1$ शोभनापि न शोभते $D_{1-3,11}$ शोभार्हापि न शोभते
20^b शतपत्रायतेक्षणाम्	शतपत्रनिभाननाम्	°निभाननाम् (sru. °निभेक्षणाम्)
23^a तुल्यशीलवयोयुक्ताम्	Gorresio तुल्यरूप° NE MSS °शील°	तुल्यशीलवयोवृत्ताम्

Besides, the following cases are also relevant to the present investigation:

(i) Nala passage st. 15b reads गृहोषिताम् which is supported by $Ñ_1$, D_8 only from among the MSS of the N recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* all the others reading गृहोचिताम्.

(ii) Nala passage st. 17a: कामभोगैः प्रियैर्हीनाम् is supported by D_2 (हीना) only from N MSS.

(iii) Nala passage St. 24b: वीर्यसत्त्ववतः :– Only D_3 reads वीर्यम्, other N MSS having variant readings.

(iv) Nala passage St. 25c: अदृष्टपूर्वाम् :– Only $Ś_1$ reads °पूर्वा.

All these cases would indicate that the source of the Nala passage is a codex which represents the N recension in general rather than the mere NE version of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Finally, the Nala passage has the following stanza for which there is no corresponding stanza in the soliloquy of Hanumat:

रूपौदार्यगुणोपेतां मण्डनार्हामिमण्डिताम् ।
चन्द्रलेखामिव नवां व्योम्नि नीलाभ्रसंवृताम् ।। *Mbh.* III.65.16

With this stanza, however, may be compared the following stanza from the *Rāmāyaṇa:*

मलपङ्कधरां दीनां मण्डनार्हामिमण्डिताम् ।
प्रभां नक्षत्रराजस्य कालमेघैरिवावृताम् ।। *Rām.* V.13.35

It is clear that the second pāda in both these stanzas is identical. The second half of both the stanzas would appear to have a practical identity of sense, though not of wording.

7 A NOTE ON KARṆABHĀRA

Although the shortest among the one-Act plays attributed to Bhāsa, *Karṇabhāra* is artistically, perhaps, the best. The construction of its plot is simple and straight, without being weighted down by undramatic descriptions or mere poetic flights of imagination. Indeed, there is very little of *action* as such. The play is a psychological exercise laying bare the currents and cross-currents that storm the mind of Karṇa at a critical moment of his career. A sworn enemy and jealous rival of Arjuna, Karṇa has just been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Kaurava army. He is introduced on the stage as a brave and accomplished warrior impatient to meet his chosen foe and kill him—a dream which he has been looking forward to throughout his life. Eagerly and firmly, he commands his charioteer Śalya to "drive the chariot to where *that* Arjuna is."[1] The supreme moment of victory over Arjuna is at hand. But at this very time when he is about to march against his enemy, his mind is overcast with ominous memories of past actions —a promise which he had given to Kuntī and a mortal curse which he had invited upon himelf and which was now coming home to roost. The heroic heart struggles against the choking weight of these disheartening remi-

1. कर्ण :—. . . शल्यराज, यत्रासावर्जुनस्तत्रैव चोद्यतां मम रथः ।

niscences and evil forebodings. With dour resignation, Karṇa asserts himself and with self-conscious firmness directs Śalya again to "drive the chariot to where *that* Arjuna is." The moment they 'get' into the chariot, however, Indra disguised as a Brahmin arrives and asks for alms. Karṇa takes on the characteristic hue of the hero of a Shakespearean Tragedy when he promises the *Kavaca* and *Kuṇḍalas* to the Brahmin. Śalya warns him against divesting himself mortally of his natural protection. But Karṇa the *Dāna-Vīrā* is even greater than Karṇa the *Yuddha-Vīra* that he has been shown to be upto this stage in the drama. The extra-ordinary nature of the demand made by the Brahmin is fully realized by Karṇa who even suspects that, perhaps, it was all the mischief of the deceitful Kṛṣṇa.[2] And yet, fully aware of the consequences of his action, Karṇa proves true to his natural generosity and parts with the *Kavaca* and *Kuṇḍalas*—virtually his life—by offering them to the Brahmin, as he is on the way to the battlefield. His lofty moral stature is underlined by his refusal to accept the *Śakti* from Indra by way of a return obligation. As he and Śalya climb into the chariot, the sound of a conch is heard—the warrior in Karṇa is provoked; and he, a warrior who has lost the battle before it began, is eager to march and orders, for the third and last time, that Śalya should "drive the chariot to where *that* Arjuna is."—Karṇa's character is enveloped in a halo of tragic grandeur as he still insists upon his march against Arjuna which, as he well understands, is foredoomed to failure. The play is constructed with chiselled neatness and gracefulness and is a complete literary piece by itself.

Let us now consider one or two points of detail. As Karṇa orders Śalya for the first time (after vs. 5) to

2. कर्ण :—(आत्मगतम्) एष एवास्य कामः। किं न खल्वनेककपटबुद्धेः कृष्णस्योपायः।

"drive the chariot to where *that* Arjuna is," Śalya replies, "well." This is followed by the stage-direction *Codayati* (he drives the chariot) which is utterly unwarranted. Karṇa and Śalya have yet to get into the chariot and this they do after some time for, after vs. 14, Karṇa tells Śalya that they should get into the chariot and the stage-direction following immediately after Śalya's reply states that they climb into the chariot.[3] This stage-direction, too, has to be cautiously interpreted because once again, after the Brahmin episode, Karṇa proposes that they should climb into the chariot, Śalya agrees and the same stage-direction follows.[4] Therefore, the proper interpretation of these stage-directions should be as follows: when, at the beginning of the play, Karṇa and Śalya appear on the stage, they are just coming out of the former's camp and are walking *on foot* towards the chariot. Karṇa's direction to Śalya at this stage to "drive the chariot to where *that* Arjuna is" can only be a general hint which Śalya had to follow after they got into the chariot. This being the case, the stage-direction *Codayati* is misplaced because the two have not yet climbed into the chariot and therefore there is no possibility of Śalya driving the chariot yet. The second stage is reached after the narration of the curse and the sight of ominous signs. Karṇa tells Śalya that they should now get into the chariot. The stage-direction *Ubhau rathārohaṇam nāṭayataḥ* must mean that they are about to climb into the chariot; *Rathārohaṇa* must mean *Rathārohaṇa-pravṛtti*. Before, however, they have got into the chariot, the Brahmin arrives and Karṇa deals with him, all the while standing near the chariot. The third and last stage is reached when Karṇa after having dismissed the

3. कर्णः—....शल्यराज, यावद्रथमारोहावः।
शल्य :—बाढम्। (उभौ रथारोहणं नाटयतः।)
4. कर्ण :—शल्यराज, यावद्रथमारोहाव :।
शल्य :—बाढम्। (रथारोहण नाटयतः।)

Devadūta turns to Śalya and proposes that they should get into the chariot. The stage-direction here must mean that they have finally climbed into the chariot and are ready to march—"to where *that* Arjuna is" as Karṇa once again commands. By a brilliant stroke of dramatic imagination, the author of the *Karṇabhāra* has synchronized these three stages of progressive action of Karṇa with his three utterances of the command to Śalya to "drive the chariot to where *that* Arjuna is" and made them the visible symbols of the stages of his mental struggle which results in a progressively firm determination to march against the enemy.

What does the title '*Karṇabhāra*' signify? This question has engaged the attention of scholars who have offered various explanations. The suggestion of T. Ganapati Śāstri[5] as well as Woolner and Sarup[6] that the title means "responsibility of Karṇa" as a commander of the Kaurava army is scarcely satisfactory because this interpretation would require the hypothecation of at least one succeeding Act to the present play in order to make the title significant. It has, however, been explained above how the play is a self-sufficient literary piece raising no doubt whatever about its being fragmentary. Another serious objection to this view is that in the play Karṇa's personal jealousy and hostility to his sworn enemy Arjuna are the mainspring of his action as the expression *Asau Arjunaḥ* shows; the fact of his generalship is only an inevitable accident in the situation and, therefore, of not more than secondary importance.

Dr. Pusalkar considers the play "to be complete in itself" and interprets the title as "the burden of the ears." He clarifies his view in the following words: "कर्णयोः भारभू-

5. TSS No. 22 *Preface.*
6. *Thirteen Trivandrum plays*, Vol. II, p. 32.

तानि कुण्डलानि (*Sic.* The plu. should be substituted by the dual) दत्त्वा कर्णेनापूर्वा दानशूरता प्रकटीकृता। तामधिकृत्य कृतं नाटकम्। (During the interval of time that elapsed between the verbal gift of the *Kuṇḍalas* and their actual delivery, those *Kuṇḍalas* were felt as if a burden (*bhāra*) to his ears (*Karṇa*)."[7]) Obviously, this is not an adequate interpretation of the title, for it does not mention the *Kavaca*—as important as, if not more than, the *Kuṇḍalas* for Karṇa's safety—at all. Vs. 21 would show that Karṇa attached more importance to his *Kavaca* than *Kuṇḍalas*. As for the colophon *Kavacāṅka Nāṭaka* found in a Ms. of the play, it is apparently as inadequate as the present title as understood by Pusalkar, because both of them represent efforts at explanation based on a partial view of the plot. The remark that "during the interval of time that elapsed between the verbal gift of the *Kuṇḍalas* and their actual delivery, those *Kuṇḍalas* were felt as if a burden (bhāra) to his ears (Karṇa)" is gratuitous, though flattering to Karṇa made famous by the epic for his extraordinarily generous nature. In the play, however, as soon as the Brahmin excitedly says *dedu, dedu* (Give, yes, give) in reply to Karṇa's offer of his *Kavaca* and *Kuṇḍalas*, the latter indulges in second thoughts and wonders if this was not a piece of fraud practised against him by that arch-conspirator Kṛṣṇa to deprive him of his God-given protection. There is almost a streak of repentance at what he has promised; but immediately he pulls himself up and says to himself that he knows where the path of duty lay. It is only after passing through this mental calculation that he openly says to the Brahmin "Well, you may take them."[8] The evidence of the text would thus go against Pusalkar's interpretation of the word *Bhāra* in the

7. *Bhāsa—A Study*, II Ed., p. 192.
8. कर्णः :- (आत्मगतम्) एष एवास्य कामः। किं नु खल्वनेककपटबुद्धेः कृष्णस्योपायः। सोऽपि भवतु। धिगयुक्तमनुशोचितुम। नास्ति संशयः। (प्रकाशम) गृह्यताम्।

title. Lastly, this interpretation of the title overlooks the fact that neither the generous vein of Karṇa nor his gift of *Kavaca* and *Kuṇḍalas* is the predominant note or episode of the play. The episode of the gift comes as a climax in the play whose first half deals with the character of Karṇa but not with his generosity. As has been shown earlier in this article, the emphasis in the latter half of the play shifts from the earlier *Yuddha-Vīra* Karṇa to the *Dāna-vīra* Karṇa, the gift-episode coming like the proverbial last straw that would have broken the back of any other heroic heart which has had to struggle against a host of evil premonitions and disheartening reminiscences as Karṇa's had. As far as possible, the title of the play should be interpreted so as to cover the entire plot. Pusalkar's interpretation fails to do so.

From this point of view, Dr. G. K. Bhat's interpretation is more satisfactory than the two which we have considered. He asserts the "*Bhāra*" in the title means "burden; not the physical, but the *psychological burden*".[9] His thesis, however, that "Bhāsa realized that the central trait of Karṇa's character was his flair for generosity, which was bound to bring his downfall some day"[10] is open to the same charge of mis-emphasis as Pusalkar's explanation discussed above. The *Tragic* excessiveness of Karṇa's generosity is exploited by the dramatist only as a means and not an end: the gift-episode comes as the last and of course the most serious obstacle to Karṇa's determination to march against the enemy. In spite of this mounting series of unnerving experiences, Karṇa does not hesitate or falter: rather his resoluteness gains a keener edge and, even after he has given away his God-given armour, he only thinks of driving the chariot "to where *that* Arjuna is."

9. *The Problem of Karṇabhāra* in JUB (Sept. 1947), Vol. XVI (New Series) Part 2, p. 71.
10. *Ibid.* p. 70.

It would appear, therefore, that the title of the play which obviously has been employed significantly must have some connection with Karṇā's march. Even while it admits of the possibility of subsidiary shades of meaning like the one proposed by Dr. Bhat, the title *Karṇabhāra* must mean 'Karṇa's March', if it is to be adequate and pertinent to the subject-matter of the play. This interpretation requiring *Bhāra* to be understood in the strange and unusual sense of marching is supported by evidence from an unsuspected source. In the first Act of *Pañcarātra,* another of the plays attributed to Bhāsa, after Duryodhana has granted Droṇa's request on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma tells Duryodhana that he would like to capture the cattle of Virāṭa with whom he had some secret enmity. Duryodhana accedes to the proposal, whereupon Droṇa calls upon his servants to fetch his chariot, Śakuni orders his elephant to be brought and—कर्णः-भारार्थं भृशमुद्यतैरिह हयैर्युक्तो रथः स्थाप्यताम् ।[11] (Karṇa says, his "chariot should be brought here, yoked with horses which are very ready for carrying (me) *i.e.* marching). The juxta-position of the words कर्णः and भारार्थम् is significant (the words could have been put into the mouth of Droṇa, say) and, apparently, is not accidental. It would imply that the author of *Pañcarātra* was aware of the existence of *Karṇabhāra.* More probably, he was himself responsible for the composition of *Karṇabhāra* with its intriguing title which he slyly tries in this speech of Karṇa to clarify. In *Karṇabhāra* exactly as in *Pañcarātra,* Karṇa is about to march in a chariot against an enemy. In *Pañcarātra* he calls for the chariot; in *Karṇabhāra* he approaches it himself. Thus, this speech of Karṇa in *Pañcarātra* would confirm the view that the title '*Karṇa-bhāra*' should mean '*Karṇa's March*'. Well might it have this meaning; for, what a march it was!

11. *cf* : द्रोणः—तस्मान्मे रथमानयन्तु पुरुषाः,
शकुनिः— हस्ती ममानीयतां,
कर्णः—भारार्थं भृशमुद्यतैरिह हयैर्युक्तो रथः स्थाप्यताम् ।—*Pañca.* I 55 *ab.*

8 DŪTAVĀKYA: AN UNUSUAL STAGE-PLAY

Dūtavākya (DV) is one of the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhāsa. One of the arguments advanced in support of Bhāsa's authorship of these plays is that fights, death etc. are actually presented on the stage in some of them in violation of Bharata's rules. We are not here concerned with the question of the authorship of the plays. The author of DV, whoever he was, shows himself to be endowed with a keen sense of the dramatic coupled with a thorough insight in the technique of the stage. For, in DV, we have not only a powerful dramatic theme rising in a *crescendo* but an example of unusually bold stage-technique not paralleled by any other Sanskrit drama. In recent times Ionesco's play *The Chairs* has been much applauded for unusual stage-technique; the author of DV has anticipated Ionesco by centuries in this respect.

Before proceeding further, we may take note of certain essential features of dramatic literature which is called visual (*Dṛśya*) by the ancient Indian theorists. This very fact underlines the importance of *Abhinaya* (acting) in a dramatic composition. A drama attempts to imitate—to re-present—life in its manifold facets; this it cannot do without *Abhinaya* which therefore constitutes the very life-blood of a dramatic performance. In modern times, we

know of bold experiments being made in all forms of art and literature; today, we have closet-plays, psychological plays, problem plays, even surrealist plays. Nevertheless, there will hardly be any demur to the statement that stage-worthiness is the supreme quality of a dramatic composition.

The employment of all the four forms of acting, viz., *Āṅgika* (physical), *Vācika* (vocal), *Sāttvika* (mental) and *Āhārya* (provident) is not only possible but necessary in a play, although their relative importance in a given play might vary. Even the rehearsal of a play is a dramatic performance, albeit without Provident Acting. Even in that other kind of literature, *viz. Śravya* (audial) as against the *Dṛśya* (visual), it is a matter of common experience that physical acting like raising the hands, sitting up erect etc. is employed along with vocal acting. Even in strictly audial (*Śravya*) kind of literature, *e.g.*, recitation of a poem on the radio, the element of vocal acting is not only unmistakable but inevitable.[1]

In a play, ordinarily two or more characters carry on conversation and thereby help to develop or unfold a situation as well as their own individualities. However, in a play, no less than in life, there may arise circumstances or situations in which a character would be addressing itself or expressing opinions to itself only. Such a speech, whatever its length, is called *Sva-gata* or *Ātma-gata* speech or soliloquy. The *Sva-gata* speeches are actually

1. With the advent of radio broadcasting, the ancient division of literature into *Dṛśya* (visual) and *Śravya* (audial), never mutually exclusive, has proved inadequate. Even otherwise, the *Śravya* form like the *Mahākāvya* was never merely *Śravya*; the reciter would always try to bring vividness to his recitation by varying the modulation of his voice and by striking different postures of hands, eyes, eye-brows etc., which are all parts of *Āṅgika* (physical) acting. In fact, we should have a separate division called *Kevala-śravya* (merely audial) in order to include literary compositions broadcast on the radio. Analogically, a *kevala-dṛśya* (merely visual) form like pantomimes or silent films may be thought of; but it would fall outside the scope of literature.

spoken loud enough to enable distant members of the audience to hear and understand; yet, technically speaking, they are not heard at all by any of the characters present on the stage. There is yet one more form of speech employed in a play either for practical-economic considerations or for securing its aesthetic integrity. It is called *Ākāśa-bhāṣita* (speaking in vacua). It consists in a character on the stage addressing a query to another which is not present there, then gesticulating as if it has heard a reply which in reality is not given by anybody and repeating the words of the 'reply' prefacing it with the question, "what do you say?..." The difference between a *Sva-gata* speech and an *Ākāṣa-bhāṣita* is quite patent. Sanskrit plays naturally abound in the use of *Sva-gata* speeches. The scope for the employment of *Ākāśa-bhāṣita* (speaking in the air) is obviously limited, although in dramatic forms like *Bhāṇa*, a single character is seen carrying the theme of the play forward through questions and replies with the help of *Ākāśa-bhāṣiṭa*. *Bhāṇa*, however, is a lesser dramatic form and possesses neither the dignity nor the seriousness of plot and character which *Nāṭaka* or *Prakaraṇa* does.

DV. is not a *Bhāṇa;* and we shall not concern ourselves here with the question whether it is technically a *Nāṭaka* or *Vyāyoga* or *Vīthī*. Suffice it to state that DV is a dignified play—quite unusual and therefore remarkable in respect of stage-worthiness.

Towards the end of the typically short *Sthāpanā* (Introduction), the *Sūtradhāra* states that, hostilities between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas having broken out, the chamberlain is setting the assembly-hall in order. The play opens with the chamberlain in the act of directing the attendants to summon all princes to a conclave as His Majesty Duryodhana desires to hold consultations with

them. Duryodhana arrives at the moment, musing to himself enthusiastically about the prospects of worsting the Pāṇḍavas in battle. The chamberlain informs him that all princes have arrived as directed; Duryodhana approves of his action and bids him return to his place of duty in the harem. The chamberlain leaves the stage.

Be it noted that Duryodhana is the only character on the stage. The chamberlain had stated that all princes and elders of the Kaurava assembly had already arrived: it is true and yet actually there is no other character on the stage except Duryodhana. Duryodhana then says, "ye respectable Vaikarṇa and Varṣadeva, I have an army consisting of eleven *Akṣauhiṇīs;* tell me who should be appointed Commander-in-chief?" Neither Vaikarṇa nor Varṣadeva nor in fact any other character is present on the stage; the audience will have to imagine the presence of these and other persons on the stage. Then Duryodhana proceeds, "What do you say? The matter is serious and one can express an opinion only after consultation!" This speech is typically of the *Ākāśa-bhāṣita* type; yet no stage-direction to that effect is given. Duryodhana next comments, "Quite right. Come let us all go inside the assembly-hall." And without any stage-direction whatever, he proceeds, "Ācārya (Droṇa), I bow to you; please enter the hall. Sire (Bhīṣma), I salute you. Please enter the hall. Uncle (Śakuni), I salute you; please enter the hall. Respected Vaikarṇa and Varṣadeva, do please enter. All ye Kṣatriyas, please walk in. Friend Karṇa, we shall enter now!"—This entire speech of Duryodhana is very peculiar from the point of view of acting. There is no Droṇa on the stage, no Bhīṣma, no Śakuni, no Vaikarṇa, no Varṣadeva, no Kṣatriyas. And yet Duryodhana, the solitary figure on the stage, is actually inviting them all into the assembly-hall! And the same is the case with Karṇa, his bosom friend. What great exer-

cise of imagination and imaginative co-operation is demanded from the audience by this unusual method of developing a situation with the help of characters who are 'present' without being actually there on the stage! The deficiency created by the absence of this kind of *Āhārya Abhinaya* (Provident acting) has to be made good by the single character of Duryodhana with the strength and significance of his vocal and physical acting. How much of feeling, tenderness and intimacy there will have to be in his invitation to his friend Karṇa in comparison with those to the others!

However, the out-of-the-way technique employed so far can be understood on account of its close resemblance to *Ākāśa-bhāṣita*. However, this speech is immediately followed by the stage-direction 'Enter'. It is not merely Duryodhana who 'enters' the hall but as Duryodhana's next speech reveals, all the above mentioned characters, too, 'enter'. Duryodhana acts as the host and naturally requests every one of the dignitaries in the same order of precedence to take their seats. "Ācārya, here is the Kūrma-seat, please be seated. Sire, here is the lion-throne, please be seated. Uncle, here is the leather-seat, please be seated. Ye Vaikarṇa and Varṣadeva, please be seated. Ye Kṣatriya princes, please be seated as you please". To address a character which is not on the stage is a part of conventional technique. In the present case, the characters—a whole crowd of them—are 'present' without actually being there on the stage; they 'enter' the assembly-hall and are invited by Duryodhana in due order, each one of them, to take their seats. This scene is not visual—it can be visualized and visioned only with the help of imagination. The audience sees only Duryodhana on the stage but it has to visualize the stage as the assembly-hall crowded with Droṇa, Bhīṣma, Śakuni, Vaikarṇa, Varṣadeva and other Kṣatriya princes. The boldness of experimenting in unconventional stage technique goes even further. Duryodhana's next speech reveals that the members of the assembly could not take their seats until the sovereign, Duryodhana, was seated. Duryodhana compliments them on their sense of propriety and takes his seat, asking Karṇa, too, to do the same. All this hesitation on the part of the assembly-members will have to be shown through the reflex acting of Duryodhana. At this stage, the only character on the stage, viz., Duryodhana, which was in a standing posture (*Sthita*) assumes a sitting posture (*Upaviṣṭa*)—yet the whole stage is 'overcrowded' with characters! Such stage-technique is seen employed nowhere else in Sanskrit dramatic literature. It is a triumph of the dramatist's art and insight into the potentialities of stage-technique.

Next, initiating the consultations, Duryodhana requests Vaikarṇa and Varṣadeva as before to express their opinion in regard to the appointment of the commander of the army: "What do you say? You mean that the *Gāndhāra* prince (Śakuni) should speak (first)? Well, let my maternal uncle speak. What does the uncle say? Does he mean that while Gāṅgeya (Bhīṣma) is at hand, who else deserves to lead the army? Well spoken! Uncle. Quite so, quite so! let the Grandsire (Bhīṣma) be appointed. That's what I wanted, too..." It is clear that this speech is all of the nature of *Ākāśa-bhāṣita*, though not exactly *Ākāśa-bhāṣita;* because Vaikarna, Varṣadeva and Śakuni are all 'present' on the stage (without actually being there), while in *Ākāśa-bhāṣita*, the character addressed is not present on the stage. That is why there is no stage-direction regarding this speech being *Ākāśa-bhāṣita*.

At this stage, the chamberlain enters and announces the arrival of "Puruṣottama Nārāyaṇa" as an emissary

from the Pāṇḍava camp. Duryodhana is exasperated at such complimentary description of Śrīkṛṣṇa and is only appeased when the chamberlain apologizes and describes Kṛṣṇa as 'the emissary Keśava'. Next, Duryodhana asks the assembly-members 'present' how Keśava who has come as an emissary should be treated. Virtually following the device of *Ākāśa-bhāṣita,* he says, 'What do you say?—That Keśava should be welcomed with *Arghya*? No, I don't like it. I think his arrest would be advantageous. With Kṛṣṇa under arrest, the Pāṇḍavas will be as if blind. When the Pāṇḍavas have lost their friend, philosopher and guide, the whole earth will pass into my possession without a rival." Then he warns the assembly-members that any one getting up from his seat to welcome Kṛṣṇa will be fined twelve gold-*Bhāras.* For his own self, he orders the chamberlain to fetch the picture-album in which is drawn the scene of dragging Draupadī by the hair and garment. As an *aside,* he adds, "I shall be studying this picture and will thereby manage not to rise up to receive Keśava."

The chamberlain goes out and returns with the album. Duryodhana passes his eyes over scence after scene regarding the outrage of Draupadī—and at the end, states that he feels happy and asks the chamberlain to bring in that messenger who is puffed up merely on account of his 'bird-vehicle'. The chamberlain leaves the stage. Duryodhana then addresses Karṇa who is 'present' by his side, "That Kṛṣṇa of evil intelligence has arrived like a servant at the instance of the Pāṇḍavas. Friend Karṇa, be ready now to listen to some effeminate words of Yudhiṣṭhira!" Only the ability of the actor to get under the skin of Duryodhana's character can save the delicate dramatic moment from being reduced to mere insipid recitation. While uttering this verse, Duryodhana

must have turned towards 'Karṇa' and with a sense of utter contempt for Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa must have asked him, satirically to listen to the effeminate words of Yudhiṣṭhira. We shall fully realize the tremendous potential of stage-worthiness of this play if we bear in mind that Karṇa's character is not *actually* present on the stage at all.

Then Śrīkṛṣṇa enters, escorted by the chamberlain. He ponders over the none-too-bright prospects of success of his mission because he knows Duryodhana only too well. Śrīkṛṣṇa enters the hall and says, "Why, why, all the Kṣatriya princes are unnerved on seeing me! Please don't be scared. Please be seated." This is followed by Duryodhana's speech, "What, the princes have been scared on seeing Kṛṣṇa? Away with your fright! Remember the punishment I have announced already. It is I who have given that order!"

On Kṛṣṇa's arrival in the hall, the entire assembly, impressed by his personality, rises up from the seats to welcome him—not paying any heed to Duryodhana's dire warning. Now, there are no assembly-members actually present on the stage at this moment except Duryodhana, the chamberlain and Kṛṣṇa. Therefore the confusion, embarrassment, nervousness etc. of the assembly-members will have to be suggested through the varied though simultaneous individual acting of Kṛṣṇa, Duryodhana and the chamberlain. Here there is scope for much richer and more varied reflex acting on the part of the characters than was possible for the single character of Duryodhana on an earlier occasion in the play.

Next, Kṛṣṇa greets Duryodhana who tumbles from his throne and mutters to himself, "Obviously, Keśava has arrived. I had firmly made up my mind and was seated determinedly on the throne; but I have been dislodged

from the throne by the power of Keśava. Oh, what magic powers this messenger possesses!" and then formally addresses Kṛṣṇa, "You, messenger, take this seat here!" Śrīkṛṣṇa then asks Droṇa, Bhīṣma and others (not present on the stage actually) to resume their seats and sits down himself, too. Suddenly his eyes catch sight of the picture-album in which Draupadī's molestation is painted; he pities the foolishness of Duryodhana and peremptorily asks the album to be removed. Duryodhana meekly echoes Kṛṣṇa's words and the chamberlain removes the album.

Then follows a hot exchange of words—rising in anger and bite—between the two *viz.* Duryodhana and Kṛṣṇa. Duryodhana ends by saying that he would not care to talk to a mere cowherd! As Kṛṣṇa is on the point of leaving the hall, Duryodhana shouts, 'How, indeed could Keśava go! Come, Duḥśāsana, Durmarṣaṇa, Durmukha, Durbuddhi, Duṣṭeśvara, arrest this Keśava who has violated the code of conduct of an emissary...Why, you are helpless! Duḥśāsana, you, too, are unable to arrest him?... oh, he is unable. Uncle (Śakuni), you capture this Keśava. Lo! he sinks on the ground, turning his face away! Well, I shall myself tie him with the fetters".

This speech of Duryodhana reveals his annoyance, anger, hate, wonder etc. in the wake of his decision to arrest Kṛṣṇa. Duḥśāsana and others who have always stood behind him in times of distress refuse to oblige him at the present moment. Śakuni, too, fails him at this juncture. Now, not one of these characters is present actually on the stage; the whole scene is to be carried through by showing the diverse reactions of Duryodhana with the help of acting.

As Duryodhana attempts to capture Kṛṣṇa, the latter assumes his universal form. Nothing daunted, Duryodhana asserts that no amount of Kṛṣṇa's miraculous powers will prevent him from arresting Kṛṣṇa. Then he goes on, "There, I say, stand there! Why, Keśava is not seen! Oh, here is Keśava. How dwarfish he is! Stop there. Why, Keśava is not seen!...lo, there is Keśava. How tall he is! Why, Keśava is not seen! Keśavas in the hall! What to do now? Well, I have an idea. Ye Kings, each one of you capture one Keśava... What, the Kings themselves get fettered and fall down! Well done thou magician, well done! Let the Pāṇḍavas sadly watch you, with your body smeared with blood flowing from wounds made by arrows discharged from my bow, being carried to your tent!"—and he leaves the stage.

The scene represented by this speech of Duryodhana is bursting with tension, as he rushes about from one direction to another to capture Kṛṣṇa but is deceived. He frets and fumes, gets mad with rage, is held at bay by the countless Keśavas. There are too many of them here! The tenacious hero in him does not accept defeat but leaves the stage, vowing destruction of Kṛṣṇa on the battle-field! Kṛṣṇa thinks that he would finish here and now the job which the Pāṇḍavas are seeking to do and calls his Sundarśana-*cakra*. This divine missile presents itself at the service of Kṛṣṇa and dissuades him from his resolve. In the meanwhile, the missiles of Kṛṣṇa, *viz.*, the bow, the mace, the conch and the sword appear to be arriving on the spot. But with the help of a device similar to *Ākāśa-bhāṣita*, Sudarśana is shown requesting them to withdraw. In the end, Kṛṣṇa proceeds towards the camp of the Pāṇḍavas when he is met and welcomed by the aged King Dhṛtarāṣṭra; and the play ends.

After this detailed analytical study of the stage-technique employed in this play, it is hardly necessary to dilate on the keeness of dramatic sense and the insight in stage-technique of its author.

9 CĀRUDATTAM AND MṚCCHAKAṬIKAM

The controversy regarding the authorship of the thirteen plays ascribed by their discoverer and first publisher to Bhāsa has been rendered more complicated in the case of *Cārudattam* by the question of its relationship with Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. As in the case of some other issues of our literary history, there is at present something like a stalemate in the wider controversy regarding the authorship of these plays. All available evidence has been spotted and sifted and all possible arguments have been availed of; and yet the pro-Bhāsa and anti-Bhāsa opinions remain as divided as ever and are waiting for further evidence to help solve the issue. The present writer is one of those who believe that the plays in question do not seem to be the creations of a single individual, much less of the famous dramatist of antiquity, Bhāsa. Before dealing with the main topic of this note, it will not be amiss to emphasize that *Cārudattam* is the one drama that stands starkly apart from the common prevailing pattern of these plays on the strength of which, to no small extent, their common authorship is postulated. The pro-Bhāsa opinion lays great store by the common formal features, viz. the short stereotyped *sthāpanā* (Introduction) prefaced by a benedictory stanza and the *Bharatavākya* (the concluding benedictory verse) often with its

reference to a king Rājasiṁha. The *sthāpanā* of *Cārudattam*, however, is totally unlike this standard pattern in the matter of its size, form and content. Again, while the other plays have made even frantic efforts to abide by the technical requirements of a *Bharatavākya* (*Ūrubhaṅga's Bharatavākya* consists of just a single *Pāda*), it is remarkable that *Cārudattam* should have dispensed with it altogether both in spirit as well as letter and ended without the hero on the stage. These formal divergences strongly urge against *Cārudattam* having a common authorship with the rest of this group of plays.

To turn to the main point of this brief note. The close correspondence between *Cārudattam* and *Mṛcchakaṭikam* has compelled all readers to concede a "genetic" relationship between the two dramas. But, once again, the question whether *Cārudattam* is an abridged recast of *Mṛcchakaṭikam* or the latter an amplified version of the former has given rise to a lively conrtoversy, both views having found staunch and eminent supporters. Belvalkar, Morgenstierne, Sukthankar, Devadhar and many other scholars have dealt with this question but arrived at different conclusions. The balance of probability can be tilted in favour of the one or the other of the two views by some fresh evidence only. Such a piece of evidence appears to be provided by the play itself.

Just about the end of the fourth and last Act,[1] the heroine calls her maid-servant (*ceṭī*) and hails her in a

1. The concluding part of *Carudattam* is reproduced here for facility of reference:

(प्रविश्य) चेटी–अज्जुए ! इअह्मि ।
गणिका :–हञ्जे ! पेक्ख जागरन्तीए मए सिविणो दिट्ठो एवं ।
चेटी :–पिअं मे । अमुदंकणाडअं संवुत्तं ।
गणिका :–एहि इमं अळंकारं गण्हिअ अय्यचारुदत्तं अभिसरिस्सामो ।
चेटी :–अज्जुए ! तह । एवं पुण अभिसारिआसहाअभूदं दुद्दिणं उण्णमिदं ।
गणिका :–हदासे ! मा हु वड्ढावेहि ।
चेटी :–एदु एदु अज्जआ । (निष्क्रान्ते) ।

mood of ecstatic self-congratulation with "Friend, look how, even while awake, I have seen a dream here!" The *ceṭi* replies in a highly responsive vein with *piam me, amudankaṇāḍaam saṁvuttam (Priyam me, amṛtāṅkanāṭakam saṁvṛttam)*. The mention of *amṛtāṅkanāṭakam* is both unexpected and enigmatic and its interpretation and explanation have proved baffling and vexatious. Devadhar, following Woolner and Sarup, translates it with "Ambrosial Act" almost with an air of helplessness. Wondering why the word has been used and what it signifies, he asks, "Can it be the name of a class of plays? Can it be the author's commendation of his own work?" T. Ganapati Shastri has reported that the third Act of *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇam* is called *Mantrāṅka* by the Cakyars who staged that Act alone without the others. This analogy obviously is inadmissible in this case, because, the word *amṛtāṅka* occurs in the body of the work; secondly, the fourth Act of *Cārudattam* is not known to have been staged all by itself; and thirdly, the entire play (*nāṭaka*) is here referred to. The parallel of "*Amṛtāṅko nāṭakāṅkaḥ*" which is Devadhar's conjectural emendation of *amṛdaṅgo* in *Padmaprābhṛtaka* is interesting and, upto a point, helpful in understanding the meaning here. *Mṛcchakaṭikam* has no knowledge of this word.

Now, it is obvious that the employment of such an unexpected and intriguing word must have been resorted to with a definite purpose. The ceṭi speaks in Prakrit, and whoever has been the author of this play has very cleverly sought to take advantage of a *double entendre* in the sentence—*amudaṅkaṇāḍaam saṁvuttam*—which may also mean—must have been intended to mean—*amṛdaṅkanāṭakam saṁvṛttam*—i.e. the drama has ended, its Acts having no clay (न विद्यते मृद् येषु ते अमृदः, अमृदः अङ्काः यस्य तत्) or the drama has ended without being marked by clay

(न विद्यते मृद् एव अङ्कः यस्मिन् तत्). The use of the word *mṛd* is a clear hint at *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (the little clay-cart) which is the central motif of, and gives the title to, Śūdraka's play. As if not to leave his intentions in ambiguity, the author adds a reference to *durdina* (the rainy day) which is the title of the fifth Act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. He intends to convey through the heroine's words "*ma khalu vardhaya*" that his abridged version is to end here. The strange looking expression—*amudaṅkaṇāḍaam* has a conscious purpose behind its use and the dramatist has achieved it by fully exploiting the possibilities of the Prakrit speech of the *ceṭī*. Here, perhaps, is as important and brilliant a piece of paronomastic expression in Prakrit as that other more famous one: *Saundalāvaṇṇam pekkha*.

Cārudattam would thus be an abridged version of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

10 AMUDAṄKA-ṆĀḌAAM, ONCE AGAIN

Dr. Pusalkar has recently reviewed the problem of the interpretation of this word in the light of the views of different scholars and has contented himself with the remark, "In the present state of our knowledge it seems to be a reasonable conclusion to take the word अमुदंकणाडअं (अमृताङ्कनाटक) in the *Cārudatta* to refer to the happy incident of the mysterious recovery of the stolen ornaments by Vasantasenā from Sajjalaka as related by her to her maid."[1] It will be noticed that Pusalkar interprets *amudaṅka* as equivalent to Sk. *amṛtāṅka;* in doing so he is meticulously correct because, as everyone knows, a Prakrit *K* cannot stand for a Sanskrit *G*. If the Prakrit reading is *amudaṅka*, its Sk. rendering can never be *amṛdaṅga*. This is, however, exactly what some scholars have done in order to unlock the enigma of this unusual expression *amudaṅka-ṇāḍaam*. These scholars were aware of the existence of the expression *amṛdaṅgo nāṭakāṅkaḥ saṁvṛttah* in the *Padmaprābhṛtakam* (*Caturbhāṇī*, Patna, edition 1922, p. 14) and *'avīṇam-aṁṛdaṅgam-eka-naṭa-nāṭakam nāṭyate'* in the *Pādatāḍitakam* (ibid. p. 15). On the strength of the apparently parallel expressions *amṛdaṅga*

1. *H. D. Velankar Commemoration Volume* (1965) (VCV), p. 111. In the second revised edition of his *Bhāsa—A Study* (1968), he has no comment of his own to offer on the meaning of this word. Cf. p. 487.

employed in these plays along with the word *nāṭaka*, they proceeded to read the Prakrit *amudaṅka* as equivalent to Sk. *amṛdaṅga*, totally ignoring the phonetic difficulty: a Prakrit *K* can never be a mutant for Sk. *G*; not only this, but Sk. *K*, too generally changes to *G* in Prakrit. Devadhar was perhaps all too conscious of this phenomenon and went to the other extreme of amending the Sk. *amṛdaṅgo nāṭakāṅkaḥ* of the *Padmaprābhṛtakam* into *amṛtāṅko nāṭakāṅkaḥ* and thus sought to establish a parallel with *amudaṅka* which is equivalent to *amṛtāṅka* in Sk. And as *amṛtāṅka* was the only conceivable equivalent of *amudaṅka* (with a *k* in Prakrit), scholars were faced with the question of the interpretation of *amṛtāṅkaḥ*. A good deal of 'ambrosial speculation', as Dr. A. N. Upadhye has called it apparently in a semi-serious vein, followed. Woolner and Sarup translated it as 'the Ambrosial Act'.[2] Devadhar gives the same translation but wonders what its denotation could be.[3] Paranjpe thought that *amṛtāṅka* was 'apparently a wellknown scene from a popular play... The *Cārudatta* is likened to an *Amṛtāṅka* as a joyous scene.'[4] Sivarama Sastri thinks that *amudaṅkaṇāḍaam saṁvuttam* is 'probably some idiom which is not so alive now as it was in Bhāsa's time' and suggests that it may be the name of the act of the *Cārudatta* like the *Mantrāṅka* of the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*.[5] Jagirdar interprets the word as a drama having no death—scene or association with death.[6] Pusalkar translates the speech of the *Ceṭī* (पिअं मे अमुदंकणाडअं संवुत्तं) as "I am happy. Indeed, it (i.e. the incident describing the miraculous recovery of ornaments) has been a drama with an Ambrosial Act."[7] However, as

2. *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa*, Vol. I (London, 1930) p. 102.
3. *Cārudatta* (Poona, 1939), p. 40.
4. *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (Poona, 1937), Introd. pp. XI f.
5. *Proceedings*, Oriental Conference, IX, p. 469. cf. Pusalkar in VCV, p. 109.
6. *Drama in Sanskrit Literature* (1947), p. 163.
7. *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.

stated earlier, he is not able to explain what 'the Ambrosial Act' means.

Pusalkar has also noticed the quotations from the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* and the *Pādatāḍitaka*. In the *Padmaprābhṛtaka*, the speech of the *Viṭa* contains the words 'साधु भोः अमृदङ्गो नाटकाङ्कः संवृत्तः।'. Moti Chandra and Agrawala who have recently edited the *Caturbhaṇī*[8] suggest the interpretation of *amṛdaṅgaḥ* as 'without the beating of the drum; without any intimation; at an in-opportune moment; prematurely'; and the sentence would mean "the act of the drama has ended without the beating of the drum".[9] Pusalkar broadly agrees with this interpretation of Moti Chandra and Agrawala.[10] That this expression is some popular idiom is beyond question. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* tells us that song, dance and music constituted the essential elements of a dramatic performance. When a rather difficult or complex matter is successfully solved or accomplished without much trouble or noise, it could, as the popular vogue must have been, be compared with a drama or an act of a drama performed and completed without the laborious accompaniments of the drums i.e. without publicity. The context in the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* supports this interpretation. The *Viṭa* is listening, of course through the device of *Ākāśabhāṣita*, to Śaiṣilaka who, under pressure, describes how a Buddhist nun who had come to his residence as a go-between initially resisted his forcible advances but yielded in the end. Whereupon the *Viṭa* exclaims in a congratulatory vein, 'साधु भोः, अमृदङ्गो नाटकाङ्कः संवृत्तः।' He means that a pleasant matter was finished on the quiet—without fuss or noise. Manifestly, there is no question of 'an inopportune moment' or prematureness here, as Moti Chandra and Agrawala would understand; nor does the expression warrant the view that the drum was beaten at the *conclusion* of a play.[11]

8. *Caturbhāṇī* or *Guptakālīna Śṛṅgāra-hāṭ* (Bombay, 1959).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 283. English translation is Pusalkar's.
10. Cf. VCV, p. 111.

Neither does the expression अवीणममृदङ्गमेकनटनाटकं नाट्यते। (st. 38) occuring in the *Pādatāḍitaka* imply that the beating of the drum was associated with the *commencement* of a play, as Pusalkar seems to suggest.[12] The context will speak better. The *Viṭa* calls at the residence of Bhaṭṭi Maghavarman and waits for the latter to come out. Maghavarman comes but walks with slow, light steps and the *Viṭa* is all admiration for his gracefulness. He then proceeds to describe him in detail: 'By him entering the royal palace with slow steps, moving with his hands tossing, with chest and shoulders lovely and broad, with eyes lovely through gracefulness and casting side-long glances now and then—by him a single-actor drama i.e. a *Bhāṇa*, is being performed without (the accompaniment of) the lute and the drum.'[13] Unlike the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* here no popular idiom is involved: it is a downright description of the movements of Maghavarman which would be proper on the stage. Maghavarman is described as acting in a single-actor drama without its usual accompaniment of music. Apart from this implication—of the association of instrumental music with a one-actor dramatic performance—this reference has hardly any relevance to the problem under discussion.

Dr. A. N. Upadhye is the latest in the field to attempt an explanation of the term *amudaṅka-ṇāḍaam*. He states: "This expression has become mysterious and its interpre-

11. *Ibid.* p. 111.
12. *Ibid.* p. 111.
13. Cf. (विटः) :—इत इतो भवान्। एष खलु पुलिनावतीर्णवृषभपदोद्धरणपदविन्यासैर्भवनकक्ष्यामलङ्कुर्वन्नित एवाभिवर्तते भट्टी। अहो नु खल्वस्य विलासेष्वभ्यासः। वेशो विलास इत्युपपन्नमेतत्॥ अपि च—
विलोलभुजगामिना रुचिरपीवरांसोरसा
विलासचतुरभ्रुवा मुहुरपाङ्गविप्रेक्षिणा।
अनेन हि नरेन्द्रसद्म विशता पदैर्मन्थरै—
रवीणममृदङ्गमेकनटनाटकं नाट्यते॥३८॥ (४२=Bom. Ed).

tations are invested with a good deal of 'ambrosial' speculation, because everyone is interpreting it from the Sanskrit *chāyā;* and somehow, rather quite naturally, the word *amṛta* has loomed large in our perspective. It is necessary, therefore, that one takes up the Prakrit expression *amudaṅka-ṇāḍaam.* When viewed in the context of similar phrases, *amṛdaṅgo nāṭakāṅkaḥ saṁvṛttaḥ* in *Padmaprābhṛtaka* and *avīṇam amṛdaṅgam... nāṭakam* in *Pādatāḍitaka* one suspects that the original Prakrit passage in the *Cārudatta* must have been *amudaṅgam ṇāḍaam saṁvuttam."*[14] Even in his attempt to solve the 'mystery' of the expression, Upadhye has to fall back upon the analogy of two Sanskrit passages, only one of which—the one from the *Padmaprābhṛtaka*—is really helpful and relevant because of its idiomatic character, the other (from the *Pādatāḍitaka*) having nothing more to say than that a drama was usually accompanied by instrumental music. Even then, Upadhye has no smooth course to steer because Prakrit *amudaṅka* can never be equivalent to Sanskrit *amṛdaṅga,* as has been pointed out earlier in this article. Upadhye tries to justify his emendation of the reading *amudaṅka* to *amudaṅga* by saying, "The change of *g* to *k* is either an intelligent improvement on what appeared to to be a *lectio difficilior,* or it has arisen from orthographical confusion or defective hearing while copying."[15] The suggestion that the reading *amudaṅga* was a *lectio difficilior* and therefore changed to *amudaṅka* is palpably unjustified: it is more transparent than *amudaṅka* which has been such a headache to scholars. The other possibility of orthographical confusion or defective hearing on the part of the copyist is the last resort in such difficult situations and implies that Upadhye envisages only two possibilities of Sanskrit *chāyā* viz. *amṛdaṅga* or *amṛtāṅka.*

14. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda XV, 2 (1965), p. 118.
15. *Ibid.,* p. 118.

Why can there not be a legitimate third possibility—*amṛdaṅka*? But there's the rub: it lands us into the high controversy in regard to the relation of the *Cārudatta* with the *Mṛcchakaṭika.* However, we are not concerned with that problem at the present moment.

That the expression *amudaṅkaṅādaam saṁvuttam* in the *Cārudatta* is a popular idiomatic expression is clear enough. Like its parallel in the *Padmaprābhṛtaka,* it, too, refers to a happy turn of events which is rather sudden and quick. The Prakrit expression for the idiomatic *amṛdaṅga-nāṭakam* in Sanskrit should have been *amudaṅga* and not *amudaṅka.* Upadhye perhaps is not aware that his conjecture itself indicates that the change of *amudaṅga* to *amudaṅka* was necessitated by the intention of the author to convey something more than the satisfaction at a happy turn of a situation; he wanted to convey that the play without *mṛd* as an element (*aṅga*) in it is ended. *Amudaṅga* in Prakrit can stand for (*i*) *amṛdaṅga* (without the drum), (*ii*) *a-mṛd-aṅga* (without clay as an element). If the author has this dual interpretation in mind, the Prakrit *amudaṅga* would indeed be a *lectio difficilior* as Upadhye surmises because the Prakrit *amudaṅga* will quite naturally be understood as Sanskrit *amṛdaṅga* (without the drum) and the matter would end there. The author seems to have chosen the enigmatic Prakrit *amudaṅka* which stands for Sanskrit *amṛdaṅka* i.e. without the mark of clay in it. The expression, however, is so near *amudaṅga* that by force of habit one would be reminded of the play being without the drum (*amṛdaṅga*). The reading *amudaṅka* thus is 'an intelligent improvement on what appeared to be a *lectio difficilior*' as Upadhye conjectures, but in a sense very different from what he had in mind. It is a reading which must have been incorporated by the author himself for putting his intention to refer to the 'absence of clay' beyond all doubt. If on the

other hand, *g* is changed to *k* by some later copyist, it would imply that upto his time at least the original intention of the author was quite familiar; but he changed *amudaṅga* to *amudaṅka* with a view to put the author's intention beyond all doubt.

Involved in the interpretation of this enigmatic expression is the remark of the *Gaṇikā*,: *Mā hu vaḍḍhāvehi*, in reply to her maid's observation that 'rain clouds which are the supporters of *abhisārikās* have appeared'. Pusalkar says, 'The natural interpretation, however, appears to be "do not lengthen", i.e. "do not spin a long yarn" which in effect means "do not delay (my proposed visit to Cārudatta)." '[16] One wonders how the question of any delay in the speech of the maid arises at all, when her expression '*abhisārikā-sahāa-bhūdam duddiṇam*' (rain clouds which *help* the love-stricken women proceeding to meet their lovers) actually means that the time is also propitious for the *Gaṇikā* to venture out to meet Cārudatta. The *Gaṇikā* understands the maid's remark correctly and snaps back, 'You wretch, do not increase i.e. excite (my longing for Cārudatta)".

Secondly, this speech of the *Gaṇikā* is significant from the point of view of the author's intention to end the play 'without the mark of clay'. The maid referred to the *duddiṇam* which as everyone knows is the name of the Fifth Act of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. The *Gaṇikā* cuts her short and says that the play is not to extend further.

This evidence therefore shows that the *Cārudatta* is an abridgement (abstracting the theme of love) of a longer drama in which a clay-motif played an important part. Whether this requirement would be satisfied by a sequel in five more Acts which Pusalkar hopes will be found sometime or whether it would be satisfied by an earlier version of the extant text of the *Mṛchhakaṭikā* is difficult to say; in any case, it is quite a different problem.

16. VCV, p. 110.

11 THE PROBLEM OF THE YAJÑAPHALAM PART I

I

The publication[1] of the *Yajñaphala* in 1941 has only served to thicken the dust of the controversy raging round the question of the authenticity of the thirteen Trivandrum plays (Triv. plays). The editor, Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri (now Swami Charaṇatīrtha), expressed his firm conviction that this play is a composition of the ancient dramatist Bhāsa.[2] Dr. A. D. Pusalkar[3] supported this opinion of the editor unreservedly on the usual grounds of structural similarity with the other 'Bhāsa' plays, similarity of expressions, thought, stage-technique, presence of humour, "simplicity and purity" of "matter and manner" etc.; he even went further to believe that "the *Yajñaphalam* can be placed to the third or the mature period of the poet's career, it being written sometime between the composition of the *Pratimā* and the *Pratijñā*".

1. *Yajñaphala* of Mahākavi Bhāsa, with a short Introduction by Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, published by Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, Kathiawar, 1941.
Introd. p. 2.
2. भाषाया आतप्राचीनसंस्कृतत्वाद्वस्तुकल्पनायाः श्रेष्ठत्वाद्रसभावालङ्कारनाट्याङ्गानां मनोहरतमत्वाद् बाणादिवर्णितानेकसामान्यभासनाटकसंवादित्वाच्च भासकृतत्वमस्माभिर्दृढं मन्यते ।
Introd. p. 2.
3. *Yajñaphalam: A newly discovered Drama by Bhāsa* in *JBBRAS* (New Series), Vol. 18, 1942, pp. 23-29; also *cf.* his *Bhāsa*, 1943, pp. 135 ff.

He moreover, noted with understandable satisfaction the fact that both the MSS of this play are in *Devanāgarī* characters and belong to the North—circumstances which should once for all give the quietus to the theory regarding the Triv. plays being mere adaptations or stage-versions prepared by *Chakyars* of Kerala in the South.[4] The same conclusion was endorsed by Dr. G. K. Bhat[5] without adducing any new argument. He, however, differed from Pusalkar in holding that the play is not a 'mature work of Bhāsa' but 'belongs to the earliest period of Bhāsa's dramatic career.'[6] Bhat's article was, however, prefaced with a Note by the Editor (Prof. H. D. Velankar) which revealed that a publisher from Jaipur had addressed a letter dated 27th October 1942 to Pusalkar warning him that the *Yajñaphala* was actually composed by one Gopal Dutta Shastri mentioned by its editor in the Introduction and pointing out the following three 'keys' (out of many more) incorporated by Gopal Dutta Shastri as evidence in this behalf:

(1) The eighth letters of the first nineteen sentences of the Introduction to the *Yajñaphala*, if read together, would spell the following Hindi sentence:

बलात् ग्रन्थ लेकर उपोद्घात भी मेरेसे ही लिखाया.

(2) If the fifth letters in the third and fourth *pādas* and the fifth letters from the end of the fourth and third *pādas* of Vs. 28 Act I (p. 21) are put together, they make the word गोपालस्य.

(3) The eighth letters of the first *pādas* of the first five verses in Act II, when read together, make out the word भासानुकारि.

4. *Op. cit.*, 23 f.
5. *Yajñaphala: A critical study* in *JUB*, Vol. XX (New Series), 1951, pp. 64-75.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

Startling disclosures these! And yet no further effective action was taken in the matter, as Velankar complains with undisguised disappointment, 'by anyone concerned.'

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, however, has recently revived the interest of scholars in the question of the authorship of this play by an article[7] in which he states that his examination of the MS. on which the edition is based has convinced him that the MS. is genuine and must have been written in V.S. 1727 as stated in the colophon, that Gopal Dutta Shastri is definitely not the author of the play, that the reading of Act I vs. 28 cd 'is purposefully so modified as to manufacture a "key"' and that, possibly, some earlier writer who imitated Bhāsa is the author of this play.

II

Now, let us first deal with the 'keys' mentioned above. The Sanskrit Introduction which stands in the name of Rajvaidya Jivaram Shastri does confirm the correctness of the first 'key'. Therefore, either Gopal Dutta Shastri himself wrote out the Introduction for the Rajvaidya and managed to insert the 'key' or he had enough opportunity to revise and finalise the draft prepared by the Rajvaidya in which to do so.[8]

The second 'key': the third and fourth *pādas* of I.28 read as follows:

घृणीनां पूगोऽयं बत दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
प्रकाशो दीपानां रजनिवदनालङ्कृतिरिव ।।

7. *The Authorship of the Yajñaphala* in *ABORI*, Vol. XXXI (1950), pp. 307-314.
8. Rajvaidya informs me in his letter dated 29-4-54 that the latter is the case.

In a reprint,[9] the same lines read as follows:

घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं बत दिनकरस्यास्तमगमत्
प्रदीपानां भासो रजनिवदनालङ्कृतिरिव ।।

Velankar's remark, "Actually, however, the 5th letter in line 1 is not *go* but *ñjo*,"[10] is more categorical than is warranted by the evidence at our disposal. For, the amended reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc. in the reprint is not based on the only MS. at present in the possession of the Rajvaidya, on which the printed text has been based, as stated in the Introd. p. 4. The photograph of the relevant page of the MS. which Dandekar has published along with his article shows the reading of these two *pādas* as under:

घृणीनां संदोहो बत दिनमणेः संक्षयमगात्
प्रकाशो दीपानां रजनिवदनाभूषणमिव ।।

The question how this apparently unauthorized reading came into existence and was accepted, as it must have been in this particular case, with extraordinary circumspection by the editor as the correct reading is fraught with serious implications, especially because of the significant word *Bhāso* figuring in it. It would be amusing, were it not so serious, to indulge our fancy whether Gopal Dutta Shastri with unerring but puckish mischievousness tampered with this stanza containing an indirect refer-

9. The existence of two readings of the same verse in the same—first-edition has been really intriguing. The position, as explained by the Rajvaidya in his letter dated 29-4-1954, is as follows: the title page of a large number of copies had been damaged by white ants or soiled by rain-water. It had therefore to be re-printed. This opportunity was also availed of for cancelling the reading घृणीनां पूगोऽयं etc. and restoring the reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc. Pp. 17-24 only were thus reprinted. The question of a second edition, says the Rajvaidya, does not, therefore, arise. The anachronistic imprint on the re-printed title page, 'सने १९४१ मार्च', although the Introduction bears the date 19-7-41, was due to the printer's mistake and has now been corrected to November, we are assured by the editor.

10. *Editor's Note*: prefixed to Dr. G. K. Bhat's article referred to above.

ence to its author Bhāsa in order to claim its paternity for his own self or whether some one has turned the tables on Gopal Dutta Shastri by inventing this reading with the word *Bhāso* in order to clinch the issue in favour of Bhāsa. This puzzle could be solved at present only by the Rajvaidya[11] who, on a general enquiry by me, gave the following explanation regarding the reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं in a letter dated 5-6-53: "The *Yajñaphala* has been printed in 1941 only—no second edition has been published thereafter. However, the title pages of about a thousand copies had to be prepared afresh as they were damaged by white ants; and stanza 28—the last verse of Act I—which Pandit Gopal Dutta Shastri had printed after tampering with it has had to be corrected and printed again *in accordance with the Ms.*" In another letter dated 29-4-1954, the Rajvaidya is more definite: "As Gopal Dutta Shastri discussed the tampering which he had indulged in in stanza 28 with learned friends outside, my attention was drawn to it; and it then occurred to me to see how it was like in the original in the MS. On a reference to the MS. in my possession, it was revealed that (the key) गोपालकृति was inserted in the half verse by reading घृणीनां पूगोऽयं in the place of घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं. The (other) Ms. which Gopal Dutta Shastri had taken away was not returned to me until he died and even until today; but that Ms. also must contain this very reading पुञ्जोऽयं". This is clear enough. However, the Rajvaidya does not seem to have been aware of his false position until I asked him in so many words how he came by such a substantially different reading घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc., when the only Ms. at pre-

11. Swami Shri Caraṇatīrtha, as I would like to refer to the Rajvaidya here in the footnote respectfully in view of his intimate acquaintance with our family, has been very co-operative and unsparing in his efforts to help me in this matter. He voluntarily sent the Ms. and its photocopies etc. to Bombay for my use. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to him.

sent in his possession contained the reading घृणीनां संदोहो etc. For, his reply—very prompt and helpful as usual—dated 5-5-54 took me by surprise. He states in his reply: "1. There was a variance of readings in this verse in both the MSS. My memory tells me—it is a matter now fourteen years old—that I reprinted (the stanza in question) on the basis of a rough copy of the MS. which was taken away by the Pandit. The reading घृणीनां संदोहो etc. of the 28th verse printed by Dr. Dandekar is the reading of the Ms. sent to Bombay.[12] Thus it is proved that Pandit Gopal Dutta had inserted his name in the stanza घृणीनां etc. in both the MSS. In fact, neither of the two MSS. has the reading घृणीनां पूगोऽयं.

2. Now, the MS. with the reading which I have given (*i.e.*, घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं etc.) is not available;[12] therefore, the MS. which is at present in our hands should be considered authoritative and the reading of the extant MS. sent to Bombay should alone be considered authoritative.

3. It appears that I did not consult the extant MS. or a copy of it at the time of re-printing the form containing the 28th stanza; and thinking that the MS. must have had the variant which was found in the copy prepared from the MS., I must not have taken the trouble to check up with the extant MS. Rough copies prepared for carrying on research fourteen years ago have been disposed of along with waste paper."

The mystery of the readings and the MSS. is only deepened by these explanations. I leave it to scholars to draw their own conclusions from this rather lengthy statement of facts concerning the second "key." (However, see Part II of this article).

12. This would clearly contradict Dandekar's presumption that the reading of these *pādas* in the other Ms. was the same as in the Ms. now in the Rajvaidya's possession. *cf. op. cit.* p. 313.

The third "key": No tampering is suspected in regard to the existence of this 'key' which is supported by the extant MS. The fact that the 'key' exists should raise grave doubts about the genuineness of the play as a whole. The explanation that this is a mere coincidence shrewdly observed by Gopal Dutta Shastri is too facile to be accepted. For, no amount of mere industry will be able to discover such significant clues in a work unless a person has fore-knowledge about them. The existence of this 'key' cannot be lighlty brushed aside or its importance minimized.

Lastly, the impression of antiquity which the MS. creates is, after all, of negative value as evidence. For, if it is found that independent grounds exist throwing doubts on the genuineness of the play, the logical conclusion could scarcely be invalidated by the old look of its MS.

III

Although so much has been heard about the question of the authorship of the *Yajñaphala,* yet it appears to have been dealt with—and decided in favour of Bhāsa—on what may be called mere formal considerations. At any rate, the case against its genuineness has not been squarely presented, leaving room for forming almost *ex parte* judgment in the matter. I should state here that among others[12a] Prof. D. R. Mankad had expressed his doubts about the genuineness of this play as early as February, 1942, in a couple of articles in the then well-known weekly *Gujarati* (dated 8th and 15th February, 1942). He said that this play bears the marks of the influence of modern times and its language, idiom etc. appear to be-

12a. Cf. the review of the *Yajñaphalam* in the Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, N. S. Vol. 32 (1941-42), pp. 441-443.

tray the influence of modern Indian languages like Gujarati. My own view is that there is enough evidence available in the drama as it is published which cumulatively would warrant the conclusion that it is a fabrication of modern times.

Let us then start our investigation with the 'list of corrections' (शुद्धिपत्रकम्) (pp. 7-11) which in certain cases has its own tale to tell. One wonders how the press-copy was first prepared; for, even after the whole work had been printed, substantial changes which could hardly pass under the innocuous name of *corrigenda* have become necessary, as the correction list shows; and this could have been possible only by checking up with the original MS. काला, गापय, करोदि etc. are normal and understandable misprints for कालो, गोपय, करेदि etc. and require to be corrected. But (1) how can the stage-direction राजानं प्रति (p. 59)[13] possibly be a misprint for प्रकाशम् ? (2) How could उद्वर्तमानेऽब्दे (p. 178) be a misprint for गाढोद्वृत्तेऽब्दे? (3) संतोषमल्प (p. 166) is mentioned as a misprint for संतोषोऽल्प. A suspicion arises here if the wrong grammatical gender of संतोष is not sought to be corrected as an after-thought.[14] For, supposing 'Bhāsa' did use the wrong gender, it would require to be left well alone. (4) This suspicion is strengthened by the similar case of पुत्रान् (p. 200) which is to be corrected to पुत्रेभ्यः. This is a flagrant case of someone realizing too late that the root दा governs the Dative and not the Accusative of the recipient. If Bhāsa wrote पुत्रान्, it needed no correction at all, because it would amount to tampering with the text. If the press-copy mis-

13. For the sake of convenience and uniformity, only page references to the text of the *Yajñaphala* are given throughout this article.
14. A similar case is to be found in the Sanskrit commentary of the Rajvaidya on the *Kṛṣṇacarita* published by him in 1943. आदृतः is to be corrected to आदृतम् on p. 17 of the edition. For the sake of comparison, I have quoted references in many places in this article to Rajvaidya's commentary on *Kṛṣṇacarita* (Abbr. RKC.).

read the original पुत्रेभ्यः as पुत्रान्, the less said about it the better. (5) Again, सदा (p. 202) is corrected to सरन् in order apparently to provide a syntactical basis for the Accusative case of वपूंषि which otherwise would be hanging in the air. (6) But the most intriguing case in the correction-list is that of करा (p. 161) to be read as पादा in the verse:

करा महीभृतो मूर्ध्नि अस्तमप्येष्यतो रवेः ।
मन्दतेजा अपि महान्महत्त्वं स्वं जहाति न ।। Act V.47

This is a clear case of amendation of the text and no mere correction of a misprint. The substitution of पादा in the place of करा heightens the suggestiveness of the sentence owing to the paronomastic meaning of पाद which means 'a ray' as well as 'a foot'.

All these are abnormal as cases of misprint and make us doubt if such emendations could be effected by any one in an ancient text. In addition to the cases of grammatical faults mentioned above, there are quite a few others whose grammatical correctness is extremely doubtful. For instance (1) in the *pāda* तेषामेव सरन् वपूंषि परशु शोणितं पीयते। (p. 202), the passive पीयते makes little sense.[15] Did 'Bhāsa' suffer a grammatical nod here? (2) Another similar case is provided by चतुरः in the verse:

कुमाराः सर्वेऽपि प्रचुरगुणमान्याः कृतधियो
मनश्चैकं मन्ये दधति च शरीराणि चतुरः। (p. 56)

Here चतुरः should either qualify शरीराणि in which case the form should be चत्वारि or it should qualify the subject of दधति which would require चत्वारः. If a few grammatical faults are corrected in the correction list, why are these totally unsuitable forms not included for correction? (3) एकैकैषां गुणैः स्वैः etc. (p. 54)—here एषाम् (masc.) is

15. पास्यति should be the form required by the syntax.

wrongly used for आसाम् (fem.), because the pronoun stands for the queens. (4) अनुभाव्य (causal) is wrongly used for अनुभूय on p. 169. (5) भुनक्ति (p. 199) is wrongly used in the *Parasmaipada* in the sense of enjoyment.[16] (6) आदात् (p. 201)—root दा with आ must be used in the *Ātmanepada*.

All these and other solecisms cannot be dismissed as archaic. Their occurrence in such a large number in the body of a single drama argues a carelessness and oversight hardly seen in any early Sanskrit drama—not even in the Triv. plays.

The Triv. plays will not be accused of the slipshodness which characterizes the *Yajñaphala* even by those who do not consider them to be authentic Bhāsa works. The *Yajñaphala* betrays surprising slovenliness in its stage-directions. The necessary stage-direction निष्क्रान्तः or निष्क्रान्तौ has been duly given at the end of the *Viṣkambhakas* before the second and third Acts; the same, however, is not done at the end of the *Praveśaka* before the fourth Act nor also of the *Śuddhaviṣkambhaka* before the fifth Act. On the other hand, the introductory scene of the sixth Act in which three भटs figure is nothing but a *Praveśaka;* and therefore, after the stage-direction निष्क्रान्ताः (p. 172), the word प्रवेशकः should have been used in accordance with common practice; but it is not done. More unusual, however, is ताः in the stage-direction ता उपविशन्ति on p. 181. सर्वा उपविशन्ति may be found in Sanskrit dramas, but ता उपविशन्ति never.

The height of this slovenliness is reached in the following *pādas*:

कन्यां विनीय परिपोष्य च तां न यावत्
योग्याय नैव ददते न पिता कृती स्यात् । VI.33 *cd* (p. 193).

16. RKC has used the root भुज् *Parasm.* in the sense of enjoyment twice राज्यमभुनक्, p. 41 and p. 52.

The author has not realized that one negative particle (न) is just too many here and negatives the meaning which he wishes the sentence to convey. This is, however, not the only case of its kind. The same fault of the use of one न too many can be found also in

बद्धो न चेदस्ति नरो यदद्य
न बद्धमोक्षो न भवेदिदानीम् । I.17 (p.13).

The normal rules of euphony are violated in a number of places, *e.g.*, बाणो त्वां (p. 93), यावत् योग्याय (p. 193) etc. One can therefore only wonder when, in the face of these solecisms, breaches of *Saṁdhi* rules and cases of slipshodness in such large numbers, one is asked to admire "the simplicity and purity" of "manner" in this play!

Let us next turn to a few footnotes. In the compound word कीर्तियशसी (p. 29), the apparently tautologous words कीर्ति and यशस् are used together. The foot-note on this expression distinguishes between the dictionary meanings of the words in an effort to justify the simultaneous use of both the words. Now, while the two words are individually used in the Triv. plays a score of times,[17] the two are not used even once together as they are here. *Pratimā*, indeed, uses the two words apparently as synonyms.[18] Thus, the simultaneous use of कीर्ति and यशस् in a compound being very unusual, the foot-note only provides a case of 'milady protesteth too much'.

The fourth *pāda* of II.7 (p. 32) reads चिन्तेयं त्यज्यतां लघु ।*[19] The foot-note runs: लघु शीघ्रम् । लघुः-न गुर्वी । उभयमपि पुस्त-

17. e.g. *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, p. 60, 104; *MV.* p. 427, 438; *DV.* pp. 443, 445, 450; *DG.* p. 464; *Kbh.* p. 481 etc. *Pañc* uses ख्याति once, p. 380. For facility of reference, all references to Trivandrum plays are given to pp. of *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra* edited by C. R. Devdhar, 1937.

18. *Cf.* Vss. 26 and 27 on p. 292. RKC uses this compound, यशःकीर्तिपूर्णा (p. 41).

19. Textual references which have been noticed by Mankad in his articles referred to above are marked with an asterisk.

कयोरस्ति। What has one to make out of the last remark? लघु (adv.) must be the reading of the क MS. because the printed text is professedly based upon it. Consequently, लघुः (adj.) can possibly be the reading only of the other -ख- MS. Why, then, is such an ambiguous remark that both readings are found in the two MSS. made?

The reference in the foot-note (p. 70) to *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 2.21 in support of the mention of जया and विजया would be historically unhelpful: the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions बला and अतिबला *vidyās* only; so does Kālidāsa in *Raghu.* XI.9. The *Yajñaphala* adds all of them up! Probably, it has no other authority for the reference to the imparting of जया and विजया than *Bhaṭṭi* itself!

These foot-notes and a few minor ones like those on p. 86, 128, 135 etc. make one doubt if they do not represent an attempt at justifying what has been written in the sure knowledge of such possible justification.

IV

The advocates of the view that the *Yajñaphala* is a work of Bhāsa are naturally impressed by and point at various features which it has in common with the Triv. plays.[20] Like the Triv. plays, the *Yajña.* begins with the stage-direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः, contains the *Mudrālaṅkāra* in is opening verse, makes no mention whatever of its author in the Introduction; the Introduction is called *Sthāpanā;* and the *Bharata-vākya* makes the characteristic reference to *Rājasiṁha* and the earth bounded by the seas, and so forth. Now, one thing that is self-evident and requires no elaboration is that an imitator, who has once made up his mind to fabricate a work and pass it off in the name of a well-known master, shall be

20. *Cf.* Pusalkar's article in JUB referred to above, p. 24 f.; also his *Bhāsa*, p. 140 f.

certain to incorporate as many features—structural or otherwise—of the accepted works of the master as lies within his power to do in order to make the counterfeit resemble the original as closely as possible. Only very recently, a reputed Marathi author and critic exposed the gullibility even of knowledgeable and critical students by successfully imitating the thought and expression of the well-known mystic philosopher, Khalil Gibran. All works need to be judged and assessed as much by their differences as by similarities—more by differences when they are under a cloud of suspicion regarding their authenticity. For, as a general rule, even the utmost watchfulness will not save an imitator of later times from betraying himself in one way or another. These differences, however small in number, should carry more weight while assessing a work of doubtful authorship than mechanical or formal similarities. In the case of the *Yajña.* these latter have so blinded some scholars—especially because of the thrice-blessed phenomenon that the MSS. of the play are paper MSS. in *Devanāgarī* characters and hail from the North—that they have simply ignored the differences. As a matter of fact, the *Yajñaphala* contains words and phrases and ideas and sentiments which are not only foreign to the Trivandrum plays but strike one as belonging to our contemporary times. Before we begin to deal with these differences, it should be pointed out that other similarities referred to by Pusalkar have nothing in them which is characteristic even of the Triv. plays; *e.g.*, the stage-directions निष्क्रम्य प्रविश्य and (कर्णे) एवमिव are only technical devices employed by other dramatists as well. Kālidāsa has used निष्क्रम्य, पुनः प्रविश्य in *Śāk.* VI after Vs. 23 in regard to the *Pratīhārī;* he has used (कर्णे) एवमिव।—a device for holding a secret for the time being—twice in *Mālavik.* (in Act I and Act IV). The conception of a king-

dom being a burden is much better known to us from *Śāk.* V.6. Similes about *Dvipa, kesarī* and the Vedic lore as well as the idea that age has nothing to do with ability are common-places of Sanskrit literature, dramatic or otherwise. Apart from a couple of features cited by Pusalkar which we shall presently consider in detail, there is none which is peculiar in Bhāsa; on the contrary, a feature like split-up verses is to be met with in large numbers in later dramatic literature.

V

(1) A close scrutiny reveals that the *Sthāpanā* in the *Yajña.* is not on all fours with the standard pattern of the Triv. plays. The *Naṭī* figures in the prologue of only four Triv. plays, viz., *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, Cārudutta, Avimāraka,* and *Pratimā.* In each one of them the expression used by the *Sūtradhāra* to call her is: आर्ये, इतस्तावत्। Here in *Yajña,* however, the expression is आर्ये इतस्तावदागच्छतु भवती। Again in each of these four plays, the *Naṭī* replies with अय्य इअम्हि। while in *Yajña.* she says अज्जउत्त इअम्हि को णिओओ अज्जस्स। The *Sūtradhāra's* words अस्माकं प्रयोगदर्शनाय संगतेयं परिषद् are not shared by any one of the Triv. dramas. Lastly, the *Sūtradhāra's* expression of relief 'आर्ये साधु तोषिता एते सर्वे त्वया।' is also confined to *Yajña.* only.

(2) The king's order to the door-keeper *विजये, त्वं बहिर्गत्वा तिष्ठ। (p. 55) is obviously modern and resembles modern expressions like तुं बहार जईने ऊभ (Gujarati). The ancient practice in such cases was to use स्वनियोगमशून्यं कुरु or some similar expression. Similar is विजये, त्वं स्वस्थाने तिष्ठ (p. 30) which, however, is lucky enough to have a classical variant in the ख MS.

(3) The advice of the king that the maid-servants of the three queens should now rest in their palaces is received by the latter with the strange-sounding salutation जेदु महाराआ (p. 38) instead of the usual यदाज्ञापयति देवः। or even तह। (p. 31) and that too is done with a smile (स्मित्वा)!

(4) The consistent use of the word राज्ञी[21] in place of the usual देवी which is used in *Pratimā* p. 265, 267 etc. with reference to the queens of Daśaratha both in stage-directions and speeches signifies a material divergence. This word which is the Sk. equivalent of the Guj. राणी would lend support to the suspicion that the play is modern.

(5) Equally unclassical is Sumitrā's reference to Kauśalyā by name in परित्ताअदु परित्ताअदु महराओ। कोसल्ला मुम्मइ। (p. 45), though in her next speech she returns to the correct form of address: समस्ससिदु महादेवी।

VI

We shall now list words which are not used in the Triv. plays or are not used in the same sense in which they are in the *Yajña.*:

1. प्रेमपाश (p. 15)—is a thoroughly modern expression.

2. महाराजकृपया (p. 16): कृपा is commonly used in Guj. in such context. The classical word is अनुग्रह. The Prakrit original would require महाराजस्य.

3. *रण्डा (p. 17)—is a modern word of disapprobation of a woman. Not to be found in any early *Nāṭaka.*

4. नयविनयपूर्ण (p. 33)[22]—पूर्ण in the sense of 'endowed with' is not classical.—So also रसपूर्णे चित्ते (p. 156) is a modern phrase. Another shade of meaning of the word is noteworthy: पूर्णं सुखम् (p. 47), पूर्णं हर्षम् (p. 259), पूर्णं ब्राह्मं तेज (p. 69); in all these cases पूर्ण is used, as in Guj. पूरुं सुख

21. *Cf.* pp. 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 35, etc.
22. *Cf.* RKC: यशःकीर्तिपूर्णा प्रसिद्धिः (p. 41); वीररसपूर्णम् (p. 53); पूर्णां रामायणकथाम् (p. 28). *Kṛṣṇacarita* itself uses पूर्ण once: पूर्णं न अन्वयात् (p. 2).

in the sense of completeness. More revealing is the sentence कर्म परिपूरयन्ति which is a Sk. rendering of the Guj. काम पूरुं करे छे, meaning 'they complete or finish the task.' Similarly, क्रतुः पूर्णो जातः। (p. 138).

(5) पालयामि—instead of प्रतिपालयामि *cf.* आगमनं पालयामि (p. 110), नृपं पालयन् (p. 109), आगमनं पालयन्तु (p. 18). However, प्रतिपाल्यतां मदागमनम् occurs once (p. 195).

(6) देहं चालयन्ती–देहं वहन्ती or धारयन्ती would be classical.

(7) स + माना—यदि मम वाक् समाना (p. 48 is awkward, meaning 'If my words deserve respect.' Similarly, समानानुनय (p. 18)—'Respectful conciliation'; समान is generally not found used thus.

(8) प्रतापी (p. 50)—meaning 'powerful' is not a classical Sk. term. Borrowed straight from Guj. wherein it is very commonly used in this sense.

(9) शिक्षण (p. 57)—is a modern term meaning 'teaching' or 'educating' in Guj.

(10) ज्ञापय्–दशरथाय ज्ञापयिष्यामः। (p. 67), दशरथोऽपि ज्ञापितो भवेत् (p. 197), न असुराणां कृत्यं ज्ञापयन्ति (p. 122), पार्श्वानुचरा ज्ञापिता भवेयुः (p. 74)— In all these cases the causal of ज्ञा is used in the sense of 'informing'. Classical Sanskrit, as a rule, uses the verb निवेदय् or a phrase like गृहीतार्थं कृ. Contrast, for instance, निवेद्यतां महाराजाय in *Kbh.* p. 477; श्वो राज्ञो निवेदयिष्यामि in *Avi.* p. 137; अस्माभिर्न निवेद्यते। in *Prat.* p. 275. ज्ञापय् is obviously a Sk. rendering of the Guj. जणाववुं. Another unusual—because modern—meaning of ज्ञापय् is 'to teach', *cf.* दिव्यास्त्राणि ज्ञापयेत् (p. 125), ज्ञापितो ब्रह्मचर्यम् (p. 176).[23] This colourless use of the root ज्ञा (caus.) is like its Guj. counterpart.

23. Compare the idiomatic use of ज्ञापित in प्रज्ञापिता भयरसं समदा नरेन्द्रा। —*Avi.* p. 110. RKC uses ज्ञापितम् (p. 19), ज्ञापयन्ति (p. 20), ज्ञापयति (p. 30) and ज्ञापितम (p. 53).

(11) भवदुक्तम्–उक्त is colourless. Daśaratha should have shown better respect for Vaśiṣṭha by using a word like आदिष्ट. भवदुक्त is exactly like Guj. आपे कहेलुं.

(12) मुक्त्वा–रथं मुक्त्वा is undoubtedly a Sk. rendering of the Guj. रथ मूकीने. The Triv. plays use the classical root in such cases cf. तस्मात्स्थाप्यतां रथः। *Pratimā* p. 275, also p. 285; etc.

(13) कर्म (p. 88)—यथा वयमन्यासां देवीनां कर्म कुर्मस्तथा त्वमपि कैकेय्याः कर्म करोषि। कर्म stands here for सेवा. It is literally a Sk rendering of Guj. काम करवुं where काम (कर्म) has this typical sense of 'chores' or service.

(14) भयकारि (p. 92)—The Triv. plays consistently use प्रतिभय in the sense of 'producing or full of danger' *cf.* *Abhi.* p. 352; *Ūru.* p. 491, 493; etc.

(15) अधर्मपोषकृत् (p. 96)—is a patently modern concoction.

(16) ह्रेपय्–This verb is systematically used in *Yajña.* (p. 29, 40, 47, 125, 194 etc.), though the Triv. plays have used the root लज्ज् generally. *cf.* लज्जामुत्पादयिष्यति *Pratimā* p. 258; . लज्जायमानेन *Pañc.* p. 400.

(17) प्रसत्ति—This क्तिन् formation is used nearly half a dozen times in *Yajña.* (*cf.* pp. 27, 146, 153, 197 etc.) although it is not found in the Triv. plays.

(18) अनुभवज्ञेय (p. 114)—is a modern phrase.

(19) *उपयोगि–अन्यानि उपयोगीनि शास्त्राणि (p. 117) (other 'useful' sciences.) This use of the word is un-Sanskrit. It is typically modern and Guj. too. Also *cf.* लक्ष्मणस्तान्युपायुनक् (p. 148) which is equivalent to Guj. लक्ष्मणे तेनो उपयोग कर्यो.[24]

(20) रोत्स्यामहे (p. 127)—meaning 'we shall press you to stay' is reminiscent of Guj. रोकशुं.

24. RKC has used उपायुङ्क्त (p. 28) instead of प्रायुङ्क्त

(21) जात–जातकार्यं मनो मे (p. 137), meaning 'my mind whose purpose is served or accomplished.' This sense of जात is modern. The Triv. plays use the word in its usual sense, 'arisen or produced'.

(22) भिक्खं मग्गामो (p. 143)—is identical with Guj. भीख मागीए छीए, though याचामहे is used in the Sk. *Chāyā*. It is interesting to note that in *Kbh.* (p. 482) Indra disguised as a Brahmin uses the Prākrit expression भिक्खं याचेमि.

(23) *मानप्रद (p. 148)—used in the sense of "Does (me) honour" is modern.

(24) वास्तविकम् (p. 155)—as an antonym of कृत्रिम is unusual.

(25) कर्मश्रम (p. 166)—'Trouble or fatigue of work.' Also न मया विचारश्रमः कर्तव्यः। (p. 177). These expressions are modern.

(26) शुद्धकर्मा (p. 201)—The use of शुद्ध in such expressions is modern.[25]

The vocabulary of the *Yajñaphala* is thus substantially different from that of the Trivandrum plays. What is more, the words, listed above, have not been used as such or with such meaning in classical Sanskrit. They are modern and can be demonstrated to be such by pointing out, as has been done above, their identity or parallellism with Gujarati words.

VII

The same holds good in the case of phrases or idioms which may be listed as follows:

1. यावदस्ति स्थितिर्मम। (p. 15)—A very far cry from धरन्ते etc. of the Triv. plays; *cf. Svapna* p. 43; *Pañc.* p. 378 etc.

25. *Cf.* शुद्धकर्मगुणैः *Kṛṣṇacarita*, p. 7.

2. सन्ध्याकालो भूतः (p. 21)—undoubtedly a modern expression especially the use of the word भूतः: (Hindi हुआ) *cf.* Guj. सन्ध्याकाळ थयो.

3. कृत्रिमत्वं भजन्ते (p. 38)—an unclassical mode of expression. चित्रार्पित or चित्रन्यस्त or आलिखित are classical phrases. *cf.* चित्रार्पिताङ्गा इव in *Kbh.* p. 482.

4. युद्धेषु नैव रिपवः स्थितिमाप्नुवन्मे (p. 29)—An un-Sanskrit exp.; probably based on the English expression 'My enemies could not *stand* in battles.'

5. अन्यदा गर्जतो मेघादद्यामृतवृष्टिरभवत् (p. 51) गर्जतः has a peculiar meaning here. The sentence means, "A cloud which at other times, *i.e.*, generally, thunders is now pouring down nectar (water)." The idea is that Kaikeyī is always threatening and harsh in her words but today she is so sweet and soft! गर्ज् here is equivalent to Guj. गाजवुं which has the same sense of threatening or bawling. The root गर्ज् is used in classical Sanskrit in the sense of mere thunder without reference to threatening.

6. *तावान् कालो लगति (p. 66)—literally equivalent to Guj. एटलो काळ लागे. कालो लग् is not a classical phrase and is not found in the Triv. plays.

7. विद्या हृदयस्थाः कृताः (p. 72)—meaning 'committed to heart', is modern and literally equivalent to Guj. विद्या हैये करी.

8. नियतः कोऽपि क्रियेत (p. 57)—'Some one should be appointed!' नियत is used in modern Indian languages for the classical नियुक्त.

9. अभवन्नैव किञ्चित् (p. 95)—in the sense of 'nothing happened to him' is literally equivalent to Guj. कंई थयुं नहि *i.e.*, he remained unaffected.

10. अभ्यस्तं कर्तुम् (p. 74) is a Sanskritism for अभ्यसितुम्. Indeed the use of the past pass. part. with the root कृ or भू instead of the conjugational form of a root is a typical

mannerism of *Yajña*. which is totally absent in the Triv. plays; लब्धो भवेत् (p. 89), ज्ञातं भवेत् (p. 21), ह्रपिता भवेयुः (p. 97), पराजितं करिष्यन्ति (p. 151) etc. Quite artificial is अनुभूतं कुर्मः[26] (p. 120).

11. आगत्य गतः (p. 101)—a colourless expression literally equivalent to Guj. आवीन गयो.

12. इति तु नैव प्रष्टव्यम् (p. 113)—undoubtedly a modern phrase based on Guj. ए तो पूछवुं न होय.

13. सर्वतः पूर्वम् (p. 115)—Literal Sk. rendering of Guj. सौथी पहेलुं meaning 'first of all'.

14. यस्मिन्रणे युवां स्यातम् (p. 182)—a Sanskrit equivalent of the modern Guj. जे रणमां तमे (बे) हो.

15. कलाप्रधानानि (p. 154)—Meaning 'artificial pleasures' is modern.

16. लब्धेन तुष्टाः (p. 159)—equivalent to Guj. मळ्युं तेथी राजी. 'satisfied with what is got!'

17. *अहमिच्छामि नगरमेतेषां बहून नयेयम्। (p. 160)—is similar to the English sentence 'I wish I will take etc.'

18. मम पुत्राणां पिता (p. 164)—is an unclassical mode of expression. The phrase is used by a woman in reference to her husband and is customary in many communities in Gujarat and Saurashtra today. It is a corollary to the Dharmaśāstra rule forbidding the utterance of the husband's name.

19. घरकम्मे लग्गा (p. 164)—Literally equivalent to Guj. घरकामे लाग्या.

20. *कोऽप्युपायः क्रियताम् (p. 185)—The usual Sk. expression is उपायः चिन्त्यताम्. This is like Guj. कोई उपाय करो (करवा).

21. *किमत्र नवं करणीयम् (p. 191)—*cf.* Guj. शुं नवुं करवानुं छे? The usual Sk. expression is किमन्यत्करणीयम्.

26. *Cf.* निर्वर्णितं चकार *Kṛṣṇacarita*, p. 2.

22. दूतं प्रक्षिपामि (p. 197)—The use of the verb क्षिप् is not found in the Triv. plays, which use प्रेषय् or संपातय्. *cf.* दूतसंपातं करोमि। *Svap.* p. 5; दूतसंप्रेषणा *Pry.* p. 73; दूतः प्रेषितः (twice)—*Avi.* p. 116 etc.

23. स्वामिनः अभावयम्(p. 200)—A very artificial and crude construction which is similar to Guj. स्वामी बनाव्या. The expression means, 'I made them husbands etc.'[27]

VIII

Apart from words and phrases, other indications of the *Yajñaphala* bearing the influence of modern times are provided by views or ideas like the following:—

(1) योग्यत्वं प्रतिपुरुषं भिन्नम्। एकस्य मते कोऽपि योग्योऽन्यस्य मते न स योग्यः (p. 43). Although 'Tastes differ' is a view widely known in ancient times, yet the way in which the idea is conveyed here (note specially एकस्य मते–अन्यस्य मते) is typically modern.

(2) युवेव कुर्वन्निजकर्म (p. 10)—The simile 'working like a young man' is modern.

(3) नृपत्वेप्सा चैषां प्रणयमकृतं किं विघटये–
ज्जले छिद्रं कर्तुं प्रभवति न सूची हि निशिता। (p. 57)

The illustration in the second line is unusual. The idea is: 'the four princes are so attached to one another that ambition for Kingship will not be able to destroy their natural affection. A sharp needle is not able to pierce a hole in water.' Now, this illustration and the context are revealing. In Gujarati there is a saying डांगे मार्या पाणी छूटां न पडे (water, even if struck with a club, will not fly apart) and it is particularly used with reference to dissensions or quarrels being ineffective to extinguish family relationship or affection.

प्रणयं विघटय्, in any case, is not a normal Sk. expression but, understood in the light of the Guj. छूटा पाडवुं, it assumes

27. Cf. स्वं पुत्रं राजानं भावयामास RKC, p. 45.

particular significance. In Sanskrit, the standard reference of piercing with a needle-point is to तमस् and not जल. Here, under the inspiration of the popular Gujarati saying, the Sk. reference has been modified in order to relate it to water.

(4) On p. 45 Kauśalyā has fainted, the stage-direction says सुमित्रा हस्तपादतलमर्दनं करोति. This form of first-aid administered to a person who has fainted is not found in any early Sk. drama. It is definitely a modern idea and practice.

(5) ज्ञाने समाना वयमत्र सर्वे (p. 72): Vaśiṣṭha delivers himself of this 'democratic' sentiment that the princes who have been taught by him are his equals in knowledge! Comment is superfluous.

(6) वनसंचारमिच्छन् (p. 96)—Vaśiṣṭha wanted to *take a walk* in the forest!

(7) राजा-अयाचितसाहाय्येन मया कथं तेषां तपोवैरिणो हताः स्युरज्ञातत्वात् । (p. 123). The plea of the king that, unless he is informed and his assistance called for, he could not take any action against the obstructors of sacrifices and penances is totally foreign to the conception of a king's duty known to ancient India. The language of this sentence, too, is artificial.

(8) *ताम्यायन's speech (किमत्र स्तोतव्यम् । स राज्ञः पुत्रः etc. p. 142 f) reveals him to be a modern 'Socialist', if not a fire-brand egalitarian. The burden of his complaint that sons of the rich have more leisure and better opportunities for study while those of the poor have to struggle against heavy odds is totally foreign to Sanskrit literature. It is definitely a twentieth century attitude.

(9) त्वं तु प्रियप्रेम्णास्मानचिरेणैव विस्मरिष्यसि । (p. 195)—The stark

crudity of Janaka's words addressed to his daughter will be realised by comparing this speech with the graceful paternal expression of Kaṇva in a similar situation, अभिजनवतो भर्तुः etc. (*Śāk.* IV.19). प्रियप्रेम is not a word that an old-world father would throw at his daughter.

IX

The address of Janaka in the last Act (p. 198ff) informing the assembly about the betrothal of Sītā and the other girls of the family to Rāma and his brothers and asking the assembly to shout *Svasti!** thrice if they approved of this union of the two royal families sounds much too modern, especially the call for 'three cheers' which is naturally responded to by all. It is impossible to believe that a drama in which such a practice is resorted to could be anything but modern. (Let none confuse the reference to three *svastis* here with the ceremonial utterance of *svasti* thrice which was done only by Brahmins.)

In the sixth Act, Rāma, whom Viśvāmitra had left to carry on the wooing of Sītā in the garden at least once (if not more) before, is introduced confessing to a feeling of love but conscious of his unworthy behaviour in sneaking into the garden without the permission of Viśvāmitra or the knowledge of Lakṣmaṇa. He says he would like to stick to the path of the good and should not see a woman because of the *guru's* instruction. Just then, he sights Sītā under a tree and indulges in expression of love; but suddenly he is assailed by the doubt if the girl was the daughter of a *Brahmarṣi* or betrothed to some one else. His heart, however, tells him that she is neither unacceptable nor difficult to get. Sītā, in the meantime, makes a confession of her love before her two friends and, feeling despondent about the fate of her love, faints. Now,

Rāma rushes in but, instead of taking care of the unconscious Sītā, he and Sītā's two companions indulge in a longish conversation. Rāma wants to know who the girl was and he is told everything—even in regard to Janaka's pledge about the stringing of Śiva's bow. When this divulging of information is over, Sītā revives! This unnatural, callous and selfish behaviour of Rāma in particular while Sītā is lying unconscious on the ground is something the like of which will be difficult to find in any classical drama. The author wants to make things easy for himself by this device but has sacrificed everything natural or artistic in the process.

It must have been evident from the rather detailed description of Rāma's mental condition given above that the scene is a mixture of similar scenes in the first and third Acts of the *Śākuntala*. However, the doubt that worries Rāma whether the object of his love was a daughter of a *Brahmarṣi* is thoroughly unwarranted because, unlike Duṣyanta who left similar misgivings about Śakuntalā in the pious hermitage of the sage Kaṇva, he is in the palace garden of King *Janaka*. The delineation of this love-scene in Act VI is ill-motivated and absurd and appears to be a clumsy imitation—even in a good many ideas and expressions—of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This impression is only strengthened by the inadequate justification for some other parallellisms with Kālidāsa. In Act III Rāma is mortified to see his arrows set at naught somehow; he decides to discharge an arrow at some 'invisible being' responsible for the mischief. He says at this stage: भवतु भावगामि मेऽस्त्रं यददृश्यमपि विध्यति। तेन दर्शयामि स्वास्त्रकौशलम्। न च हन्मि तमदृश्यम्। भो अदृश्य

अदृश्यप्रणयी बाणो त्वां नान्यं विध्यति क्षणात्।
रक्तपा स्तनलग्ना हि पिबत्यस्त्रं पयस्तु न॥ (p. 93)

i.e., his missile would *pierce* the 'invisible' but he would not like to *kill* it. (This is the only way in which the intended contrast can be brought out). Now, the stanza that follows must underline this idea of hitting, but not killing, one and the same object. Yet, the stanza says, 'The arrow seeking the invisible one will pierce thee and none else. A leech sticking to a breast sucks blood but not milk.' There is no question here of anybody else being struck at all. In the *Mātali* episode in the sixth Act of *Śāk.*, on the other hand, the Vidūṣaka and Mātali were wrestling with each other, so to say; hence the supreme need for caution and absolute justification for the king's warning:

यो हनिष्यति वध्यं त्वां रक्ष्यं रक्षिष्यति द्विजम्।
हंसो हि क्षीरमादत्ते तन्मिश्रा वर्जयत्यपः॥ *Śāk.* VI.28

Here, the shift of focus in the stanza is patent enough. The idea it expresses is irrelevant and gratuitous—intended, for aught we know, to imitate the verse in the *Mātali* episode. No less suspect is the context of the Vs. न खलु न खलु वध्याः etc. (p. 85) which echoes the well-known Vs. न खलु न खलु बाणः etc. *Śāk.* I.10.

The episode of the jealous rivalry among the three queens of Daśaratha in Act I is unrealistic in conception and childish in execution. What a far cry it is from the dignified and matronly Kauśalyā of the *Pratimā* to her narrow-minded and selfish counterpart in the *Yajñaphala*! Perhaps, no other literary work has stooped so low in blaspheming this dignified and noble mother of Rāma.

More strange, however, is the rôle of the Vidūṣaka in this play. In the first place, it should be noted that the Vidūṣaka's character is omitted in the *Pratimā*, although the scene in the second Act is domestic enough to have permitted him to be a sympathetic witness of the tragedy

that has overwhelmed Daśaratha. The only business of the Vidūṣaka in the *Yajña*. appears to be to indulge in 'humorous' remarks or provoke quarrels. Even after making allowance for the verbal inanities about sweet-balls[28] as being in line with his character as a glutton and a buffoon, it is difficult to understand his behaviour in the latter half of the second Act. His 'hearsay' description of Viśvāmitra and particularly his remark that the sage hurls abuses with one of his mouths (अपरेण गालीं ददाति– p. 107) are too artificial to tickle anybody. His remarks about Paraśurāma just about the end of the last Act come with shocking suddenness and impropriety in an otherwise tense and serious situation. This appears to be conceded even by the author of this drama because he has placed the stage-direction स्वगतम् before both of them.[29] These remarks of the Vidūṣaka enable us to understand why dramatic theory made the Vidūṣaka only a *Narma-Suhṛd*, a private, personal friend, of the king in an erotic drama. Dramatic practice has consistently abided by this dictum and furnishes examples to show that the Vidūṣaka was never present when affairs of the state or the public were being attended to by the king. He is shown sometimes to be waiting outside for his friend, the king, to rise from his judgment-seat, etc. Kālidāsa, too, has only artistically abided by this wise dictum when he sent away the Vidūṣaka before the king received the pupils of Kaṇva bringing Śakuntalā with them in the fifth Act. The *Yajñaphala* violates this rule in so far as the Vidūṣaka is allowed to be present when Daśaratha receives Viśvāmitra in Act IV and again in the full assem-

28. The similar scene of Vidūṣaka harping on the theme of मोदकमल्लकs in the third Act of *Pry.* is sufficiently motivated as it serves to cover up the meeting of the disguised spies of Udayana. The idle chatter of the Vidūṣaka in the *Pry.* is therefore not purposeless.

29. (स्वगतम्)–शिग्घं कुदो ण णिक्कमदि एसो बुड्ढो रिच्छो। and (स्वगतम्) गदो बुड्ढो रिच्छो सहवि तस्स गुणाणि गाअंदि एदे। p. 206.

bly in the last and is allowed to pass remarks naturally in keeping with his character but at total variance with the spirit of the situation. Fortunately, the Triv. plays, in spite of their violation of a few dramatic rules laid down by Bharata, have retained the sanity which is embodied in the limitations imposed on the movements of the Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit drama.

X

An unmistakably modern approach to certain social and human aspects of life is found in the *Yajñaphala*. Look at the manner, for instance, in which the interview between Viśvāmitra and king Daśaratha is brought about in Act IV. Viśvāmitra has already arrived at the palace and is waiting for an interview with the king who later arrives in company with Vaśiṣṭha, princes, Vidūṣaka and servants (p. 110). This is an utter contradiction of the ancient practice of the guest being brought to the host who has already prepared himself to receive him. Again, Vaśiṣṭha, the family-priest, should have escorted the distinguished guest into the presence of the king rather than leave him alone like a visitor waiting in the ante-chamber or drawing-room of a modern bungalow! And Viśvāmitra actually rises from his seat in order to greet the host! The scene of Viśvāmitra cross-examining Vaśiṣṭha and the princes regarding the education of the latter reminds one of a school teacher in charge of the education of children in a rich family having to be on the defensive when interrogated by a casual guest belonging to his own professional fraternity!

However, what must make it difficult for the *Yajñaphala* to escape the suspicion of being a modern work is the introduction and treatment of the problem of village *versus* city in Act V. Viśvāmitra strikes the key-note of

the discussion when he states*: नगरादिषु रम्यत्वं कृत्रिमं न च सर्वभोग्यं ततो न यथार्थम् (p. 153) etc. That is, the beauty in cities is artificial and, not being accessible to all, illegitimate; on the other hand, birds and even human beings are free to use leaves and fruits of trees in the forest as they like. This comparison in favour of nature and country-side is carried on over two pages. Now, this question of city *vs.* village or the country-side as it is posed here is a problem of modern times. 'Back to Nature', 'Back to the village' are cries which have filled the air in India during the last thirty years under the inspiration of different political, economic or social philosophies. When Viśvāmitra sings paeans of the innocent farmers "who do not drive out the deer trying to graze in the field, who living at a distance from the city do not sell corn (or is it food?) as they are satisfied with what little they get" etc. (p. 154 vs. 31), one recognizes in them the idealistic slogans of our days in favour of the village and villagers which had little relation with realities. Classical Sanskrit often deals with the sophisticated pleasures and diversions of cities as well as the natural and simple glories of forests and penance-groves. The Triv. plays, too, deal with forest-scenes and life in shepherd settlements with its unadulterated joys. That persons living in the solitude of penance-groves or villages may find themselves ill-at-ease and suffocated in the crowded hubbub of city-life is understandable enough and this reaction has been referred to by poets like Kālidāsa. But the view that villagers do not chase away animals destroying their crops in the fields, that they do not sell corn on account of their contentment etc. is not met with in classical Sanskrit literature in which, on the contrary, reference to girls tending corn in fields, शालिगोप्यः for instance, is often found. Next, Viśvāmitra draws an idyllic picture of villagers unaffected by the commercialization and vices of urban life. Rāma is so impressed that he says he would like to take a good few of these villagers to the city so that the cities might become prosperous and holy (p. 160)! Viśvāmitra warns him that city life would corrupt them. All these sentiments represent our characteristically modern—and idealistic—approach to villages.

Again, Viśvāmitra is not satisfied with a mere theoretical enunciation of the simplicity and nobility of villagers; he would fain seize this rare opportunity to show to the princes the life of real, live villagers! (नगरवासिभ्यां etc. p.162). Luckily, he sights an aged shepherdess coming towards them. On a query from Viśvāmitra, she replies, "सर्वं मम गृहे क्षेमम्। मम पुत्राणां पिता पुत्रवधूमानेतुमन्यं ग्रामं गतः। पुत्रः क्षेत्रे समाहृतानां सस्यानां रक्षां करोति। पौत्रा गृहकर्मणि लग्नाः। आगच्छतु भवानद्य मम गृहं पवित्रं क्रियताम्। etc. (Sk. *chāyā*) p. 164. It should be noted here that the peculiar social custom, *viz.*, that the father-in-law or some other elder member of the family goes to fetch the daughter-in-law from her father's house, especially if she is to be brought to her husband's home for the first time after marriage, is largely prevalent in various communities in Saurashtra even now. In the context of peculiar expressions like मम पुत्राणां पिता, गृहकर्मणि लग्नाः etc. which, as shown earlier, are Gujarati expressions, this reference to a social custom in vogue in parts of Gujarat would substantially strengthen the view that the *Yajñaphala* is a modern dramatic composition influenced by Gujarati in its thought and expression.

The modern 'democratic' attitude is reflected in the two princes bowing to the aged village matron (p. 164) —an act of courtesy not possible in ancient times or classical Sanskrit literature. Moreover, the aged woman advises Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa not to kill deer because they have "become our relatives (or friends) on account of

living together" and, what is more, "they look so charming while running!"[30] This starkly unrealistic observation could be put into the mouth of the village woman only by a person who has made up his mind to idealize—why, even idolize,—*cf. Deva-tulya-manasaḥ* (p. 165)—the villager.

Lastly, strictly *a la* a teacher who has finished an object-lesson before his pupils, Viśvāmitra, too, asks Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as to what moral each one of them has drawn from what they had seen of the village and villagers. Mankad emphatically asserts that this entire essay glorifying the village cannot but be modern.

XI

To sum up, there is enough circumstantial and internal evidence in the *Yajñaphala* which cumulatively would justify the conclusion that it is a drama composed after the pattern of the Trivandrum plays in modern times and influenced by modern thought and expression. This conclusion is based on evidence provided by the play itself, quite independently of the claims of any particular individual regarding its authorship. One thing, however, is certain: whoever the author of this modern concoction in imitation of the 'Bhāsa' plays might be, he is thoroughly acquainted with the intricacies and subtleties of the Bhāsa-problem and has an unambitious manner of expression in Sanskrit.

PART II

An Examination of the क *Ms.*

Owing to adventitious circumstances, the MS. of the *Yajñaphala*—original as well as photostat copy—sent by

30 मिआ सहवासेण अम्हाणं बन्धुआ जादा धावंदा सोहेंदि। p. 165.

the Rajvaidya (I am using the name for the sake of uniformity) voluntarily for my use reached my hands only after I completed the foregoing article. I had proceeded with the article with the natural expectation that the printed text would for all practical purposes be identical with the MS. text on which, as stated by the editor in the Introduction, it was based and that minor details deserving notice, if any, would be conveniently incorporated in the body of the article later on. This expectation, however, received a rude shock from a detailed examination of the MS. The results of this examination are presented here in detail to enable the problem of the *Yajñaphala* to be viewed objectively.

XII

In the first place, this MS. which is designated 'क' by the editor and which forms the basis of the printed text contains fifteen folios and not fourteen as stated in the Introduction on p. 4. Secondly, the Introduction has not reproduced the colophon of this MS. quite faithfully; it actually reads: यज्ञनाटकं समाप्तं। श्रीविक्रमार्कसंवत् १७२७ आश्विन कृष्णपक्षे द्वितीयायां भौमे च लि. स्वामी शुद्धानंदतीर्थेणेदं। श्रीः

The printed text has been quite indifferent in respect of the use of *a* or *ya* in Prakrit speeches. Very often the *ya* of the MS. has been printed as *a*:

Ms.	Printed Text	Ms.	Printed Text
वयणपाडवं	वअणपाडवं (p. 21)	संभावयिदुं	संभाविदुं (p. 53)
भयवं	भअवं (p. 21)	धियं	धिअं (p. 119)
गुणायरो	गुणाअरो (p. 40)	वयणं	वअणं (p. 145)
दीयदु	दीअदु (p. 44)	धरियंदि	धारिअंदि (p. 164)
पियं मे पियं	पिअं मे पिअं (p. 48)	वयणं	वअणं (p. 193)

The printed text has indulged in displacement or replacement of syllables or words:

Ms.	Printed Text
(अपूर्णा) तिष्ठन्तु	तिष्ठन्तु (p. 4)
होंहिंदि	होंहिति (p. 6)
खिवाणि	खिवामि (p. 9)
सुमित्ताए	सुमित्ताह् (p. 19)
रण्णीओ	राण्णीओ (p. 19)
पुमत्था	पुमरिधा (p. 20)
भवेन्मनुष्यः	भवेन्नरेशः (p. 32)
चिन्तितेन	चिन्तनेन (p. 34)
व्रतनयन°	व्रतनियम° (p. 36)
तया सह	तया सहैव (p. 36)
यथा च	या हि (p. 36)
°त्तमनिन्दित कुर्यात्	°मनिन्द्यमथापि कुर्यात् (p. 40)
प्रकाशं	प्रकाशं कैकेयीं प्रति (p. 44)
मुम्मइ	मुम्मइ (p. 45)
तवो भरतो राजा भवेत्	तवो भरतो राआ भवे (p. 46)
गुणवत्तरेषु	गुणवत्तरे तु (p. 51)
नीतिण्णा च	नीतिण्णा अ (p. 51)
तं जेव करिस्साम्ह	तं ज्जेव करिस्सम्म (p. 53)
सामण्णे (सायण्णे ?)	साअण्णे (p. 53)
तओ	ताओ (p. 53)
तेन तु गच्छन्तु	तेन हि गच्छन्तु (p. 54)
आज्ञापयति	विज्ञापयति (p.57)
भवदुक्तं करिष्ये	°करिष्य इति (p. 59)
निदाघः	निदाघकालः (p.65)

Ms.	Printed Text
यस्यास्ति तेनास्ति	°तेनास्तु (p. 68)
भवता	भगवता (p. 73)
समीरेण	समीरणेन (p. 75)
तेन तरून्मूल्य क्षिपामि	तेन तरुं तमेवोन्मूल्य दूरं क्षिपामि (p. 82)
शस्त्रसज्जे	सज्जशस्त्रे (p. 83)
भूमावालोक्य	भूमाववलोक्य (p. 91)
रावणमागमत्	रावण आगमत् (p. 96)
ब्राह्मणकारणम्	ब्राह्मणकारकम् (p. 98)
सकअण्णा तुमे	°तुम्हे (p. 104)
अकुशलो	अकुशलम् (p. 112)
(विद्यास्तीर्णा) एते	°एतैः (p. 114)
मननेन च	°तत् (p.115)
शकुनशास्त्रं	शकुनज्ञानम् (p. 116)
शस्त्रशास्त्र°	शास्त्रशास्त्र° (p. 119)
निकषाप्तुरेषां (?)	निकषा पुरं स्वाम् (p. 120)
स्वतपोरक्षणे	स्वतपोरक्षायै (p. 123)
राज्ञां वेश्मसु	राज्ञां वासवेश्मसु (p. 127)
व्रतपरंपराश्रिताः	°परासिताः (p. 127)
वक्तुं नोचितम्	न वक्तुमुचितम् (p. 131)

Ms.	Printed Text
रामस्यानिष्टम्	रामस्य किमप्य-निष्टम् (p. 134)
सगद्गदं रामं प्रति	रामं प्रति सगद्गदम् (p. 134)
मन्त्रपूर्वाश्च	मन्त्रपूर्वं च (p. 134)
नाशं म स्वं	नाशं न तं स्वं (p. 148)
तेन पाणिरेखा	तेन तस्याः पाणि-रेखा (p. 149)
यदि तुमुलं तद्युद्धं भवेत्	यदि तद्युद्धं भवेत् (p. 151)
नयति मनुजं	नयतु मनुजं (p.160)
स जहाति न	स्वं जहाति न (p. 161)
भगवान्	भवान् (p. 162)
आअच्छदु भवं मह घरं	0 भवं अज्ज मह घरं (p. 164)
पतिर्भविष्यति तस्य निश्चयः	0 भविष्यतीति तस्य महाराजस्य निश्चयः (p. 167)
वैदेहो सांवत्सरिकं	वैदेहो जनकः सांव-त्सरिकं (p. 167)
सत्रान्तेऽभिनन्दितुम्	0 न्तमभिनन्दितुम् (p. 167)
फलं ब्रूते वत्सः	फलमिति वदति वत्सः (p. 168)

Ms.	Printed Text
फलरूपं फलं	फलस्वरूपं फलं (p. 168)
अस्त्रविद्या साधु न्यस्ता मया रामे	अस्त्रविद्या तु रामे etc. (p. 169)
अहो बत बलवान्	अहो बलवान् (p. 174)
अहो न गन्तुं शक्यते	अहो न शक्यते गन्तुम् (p. 175)
ब्रह्मचर्यं च	ब्रह्मचर्यं तु । (p. 176)
संजीवयत्	संजीवयितुम् (p. 178)
इत एति	इत एवैति (p. 178)
व्यर्थम्	व्यर्थमेव (p. 180)
सुखाप्तिविभवाः	°प्तविभवाः (p. 186)
भवतु समुदाचारः	भवतु । तिष्ठतु समु-दाचारः (p. 195)
स्वार्थं	स्वास्थ्यं (p. 196)
दुहिता प्रदत्ता	दुहिता सीता प्रदत्ता (p. 199)

Although inherently unscientific, most of these divergences are of minor importance and might have been ordinarily left unnoticed. But in this particular case they are symptomatic of a more serious malady, *viz.*, a flagrant indifference to the need to remain faithful to the MS. Words or phrases not found in the MS. are met with in the printed text: *e.g.*, अत्र हि (p. 36), सुमित्रा च (p. 36), ततः कैकेयी (p. 37), किन्तु (p. 37), धन्येयम् (p. 47), अन्यच्च (p. 77), यतः (before vs. 46 on p. 95), यत उक्तम् (before vs. 49 on

p. 98), महाराजदशरथस्य (p. 113), अज्ञातत्वात् (p. 123), ऋषयस्ते (p. 125), भवान् (p. 125), अथ च (p. 159), यतः (p. 174), ततश्च (p. 176), किंतर्हि (p. 177), कथम् (p. 197), यतः (p. 197), ततश्च (p. 197).

Moreover, the printed text contains additional sentences or entire speeches of characters which are not extant in the MS.:

1. उक्तमासीन्मया अद्यास्मिन्ग्रीष्मोद्याने सर्वाभिर्भवतीभिरागन्तव्यमिति। (p. 35).
2. इह मणिखचितशिलातल उपविशन्तु भवत्यः। (p. 38).
3. किमेत्थ वासिट्ठमाह। (p. 42).
4. स्मरति भवती भवत्या विवाहकाले (p. 44).
5. The entire prose speech of Kaikeyī: अवरं अ..... वि भोदि। (p. 50).
6. The prose speech of राजा on p. 52 beginning with स्वगतम् and ending with प्रकाशम्.
7. The whole passage beginning with प्रतीहारी–जं आणवेदि महाराओ on p. 55 upto न यान्ति किम् (st. 39) on p. 57.
8. Vidūṣaka's speech: (प्रकाशम्) तुम्हे किं मए....सव्वाणं उप्पादेमि (p. 60).
9. King's speech: (प्रकाशम्) सखे सुन्दरक.....मन्यस्व। (p. 61).
10. यदि नाम रावणो....बली रावणः किन्तु (before vs. 3) on p. 67.
11. अविज्ञापितास्मद्गमना....अन्वायान्त्येव। लक्ष्मणः (p. 74) *i.e.* the speech of Śatrughna according to the MS. is put into the mouth of Lakṣmaṇa in the P.T.
12. अत्रैवारभ्यतां धानुष्कता (p. 75).
13. अहो पश्यत....,लाघवदर्शनीयाः (p. 77).
14. भरतलक्ष्मणशत्रुघ्नाः–अस्माकं धनुर्वेदः इच्छामः (p. 78).
15. नियोजितोऽस्मि युष्माभिः। (स्वगतम्) (p. 79).
16. भरत :–(अग्रतोऽवलोक्य) आर्य...रामः–कथमिव। (p. 86)

17. (संस्कृतमाश्रित्य) न जनन्यामुभे... सक्कअं भणामि। (p. 89).
18. वशिष्ठः–रावणो वत्सानां...क्षममकरोत् (p. 97).
19. The first five speeches (विदूषकः–एक्केण...दोणि हत्थाओ) on p. 107.
20. The first two speeches (गोपिलः—जं ... सक्कं।) on p. 108.
21. Vidūṣaka's speech: जाणामि तं etc. and the following stanza (आसन्....पालयन्) on p. 109.
22. विश्वामित्र :– (वशिष्ठं प्रति) महर्षे नमस्ते। (p. 112).
23. (सगर्वम्) इन्द्रादयो राज्यं.... (प्रकाशम्) on p. 113.
24. विश्वामित्रः–बहूनि...ज्ञातानि स्युः। (p. 114-5).
25. लक्ष्मणोऽपि यातु। (p. 135).
26. रामः–आवयोर्युद्धं... जेष्यति। (p. 151).
27. नयविनयज्ञे भवति न लघु कारणमुत्पत्स्यते। (p. 152).
28. केत्तिअं सो चिट्ठिस्सदि। (p. 170).
29. पुव्वं लक्खणो छाहा विअ तं अणुगदो आसि। (p. 171).
30. चलिदुं वि ण सक्कुणोमि। (p. 181).
31. सख्यौ–पिअसहि वरं विअ तादस्स आसिसं अहिणंदेहि। (p. 194).
32. जनकः–अहो अमितबल...शयिष्यन्ते। (p. 206).

Similarly, more than a score of verses which the printed text contains are not found in the MS., *viz.*, stanzas 28 (p. 48); 35 (p. 54); 37-39 (p. 56f); 7(p. 69); 9 (p. 70); 20 (p. 76); 21cd (p. 77); 22 (p. 77); 28-29 (p. 80); 33 (p. 82f); 40(p. 86); 41(p. 89); 44(p. 94); 46(p. 95); 1(p. 109); 3-4(p. 111); 8 (p. 113); 13 (p. 116f); 15 (p. 118); 33 (p. 129); 36 (p. 130); 22(p. 150); 45(p. 159); 11(p. 176).

Lastly, stage-directions by the dozen are found in the printed text, although there is nothing corresponding to them in the MS.: अग्रतोऽवलोक्य (p. 35); निष्क्रान्तः (p. 35); निरूप्य (p. 35); स्मित्वा (p. 38); मूर्च्छति (p. 45); राजा प्रावारकेण वीजयति कैकेयी पुष्करिण्या जलमानीय मुखे सिञ्चति सुमित्रा हस्तपादतलमर्दनं करोति। (p. 45); कौशल्या संज्ञां लभते। (p. 46); स्वगतम् (King's) on p. 46; संस्कृतमाश्रित्य on pp. 47, 48, 49 (twice), 52; सर्वा राजानं प्रणम्य गच्छन्ति

(p. 54); स्वगतम् (p. 63); अग्रतोऽवलोक्य (p. 71); ततः प्रविशति वशिष्ठश्चतुर्भिः कुमारैः सह (p. 72); धनुरारोपयन् (p. 76); स्वगतम् (विश्वामित्ररावणौ–) (p. 79); तथैवास्तु। निष्क्रान्तौ (p. 82); दूरे प्रविश्य (p. 83) स्वगतम् (Rāvaṇa's) (p. 83); सलज्जमिव (p. 86); उपसृत्य पादयोः पतित्वा (p. 94); निष्क्रान्तौ (p. 102); ततः प्रविशत्यासनस्थो विश्वामित्रः (p. 110); सर्व उपविशन्ति (p. 112); सास्रम् and चक्षुषी उन्मील्य (p. 135); ततः प्रविशन्ति त्रयः शिष्याः (p. 138); सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति (p. 162); अग्रतोऽवलोक्य (p. 163); विचिन्त्य on pp. 167 and 177; जनान्तिकम् and जनान्तिकमेव in Madhurikā's speeches on p. 182; जनान्तिकम् (Candrakalā's) and जनान्तिकमेव (Madhurikā's) on p. 183; विचिन्त्य (p. 184); जनान्तिकमेव (p. 185); मूर्च्छति (p. 188); इत्यर्धोक्ते मौनं भजति (p. 188); स्वगतम् (Candrakalā's) on p. 190; संस्कृतमाश्रित्य twice (p. 190); स्वगतम् (p. 191); स्मित्वा (p. 192); सास्रम् (first) on p. 194; संस्कृतमाश्रित्य (p. 195); विचिन्त्य (p. 196); पुनर्विचिन्त्य (p. 197).

Most of these stage-directions are of course of a formal kind; and the editor would be justified in filling up obvious gaps and thereby facilitating the work of the reader. However, there are a few stage-directions in the above list which are peculiar or substantial in content.

All these add up to a formidable number of modifications and additions to the text of the क MS. The Introduction is categorical in stating that the क MS. is published as it is—and places no qualifications upon the statement. The important question, therefore, arises: Where did all these deviations—the more important of them being additions—come from? The only charitable answer that could possibly be given is that the printed text has heavily drawn upon the ख MS. which unfortunately is now lost beyond redemption. The utter silence of the Introduction on this matter is difficult to understand and dangerous because it results in misleading serious readers. That verses by the dozen and sentences and words by the score should have been inserted in the body of the text from an external source without the slightest mention of the fact in the Introduction is nothing but an act of literary vandalism the seriousness of which does not appear to have been realized by persons responsible for the preparation and publication of the edition.

XIII

On the other hand, the MS. itself embodies a text which is in places mutilated and cannot be properly understood without the additions accepted by the printed text. For instance, (1) the speeches of Kauśalyā and the king on p. 42f will be pointless without Kaikeyī's question किं एत्थ वासिट्ठमाह। which is ommitted in the MS. (2) Similarly, Kaikeyī's reply सुमिरेमि सव्वं etc. on p. 45 presupposes Daśaratha's question स्मरति भवती भवत्या विवाहकाले etc. which part of the sentence is dropped in the MS. (3) The long passage from प्रतीहारी-जं आणवेदि महाराओ on p. 55 up to न यान्ति किम् in vs. 39 on p. 57 which is omitted in the MS. is indispensable to the justification of the king's remark अत एव विचिन्तोऽहमद्य। and the following dialogue. (4) Caturikā's remark तव संस्कृतेऽपि etc. on p. 89 is unintelligible without the preceding speeches of Mantharā and Madhurikā which are, however, omitted in the MS. (5) The omission of the sentence पुव्वं लक्खणो छाहा विअ तं अणुगदो आसि। (p. 171) leaves the following sentence in the air. (6) Again, no Sanskrit author, perhaps even of our day, would think of composing a stanza of two lines only in the *Sragdharā* metre and leaving even the sense incomplete; this, however, is the case with stanza 23 on p. 38 whose third and fourth *pādas* do not exist in the MS. That the scribe has been very careless is underlined by the colophon इति द्वितीयोऽध्यायः at the end of Act II and the introductory अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः immediately thereafter; and everyone knows that the seventh Act has the colophon निर्वहणांकः षष्ठः।

The क MS. thus bears the marks of incompleteness and shows that it has suffered heavily through the carelessness of the copyist.

XIV

There still remains one important matter to discuss—a matter as intriguing as it is important. The MS. of the *Yajñaphala* received by me contained sixteen folios, fifteen of which as stated in section XII comprise the entire text of the play. This left one extra folio. Now, the inner paper-wrapper of the MS. bears the following relevant description: षोडष पत्राणि १६ सोळ एकं पत्रं पुनर्लिखितं द्वितीयं लेखकदोषेण मृष्टं मशीमलिनं इति प्रतिभाति *i.e.* the extra folio is only a copy of one of the folios of the MS. and is soiled with pigment as it contains erasures through the fault of the scribe. A close examination of this additional folio, however, revealed interesting facts.

At the outset, it may be noted that this is the only folio out of the sixteen which has any erasures and that these erasures are as many as six on both sides of the folio. Next, an attempt to ascertain which one of the fifteen regular folios of the MS. was thus transcribed proved infructuous. For, it is obvious that the transcription of a page must begin with the same words as the original, if not also have the same ending; but no page of the MS. begins with the same words as any of the sides of the extra folio. A check-up of the contents of both the sides of the folio revealed that it contains matter from the latter part of Act I and some portion of Act II. A comparison of the extra folio and the pages of the MS. containing this portion of the text showed that:

1. Extra folio *obverse* begins: सुमित्रा णिवेदेदि (p. 16) and ends: राज्ञां (p. 27).
   Extra folio *reverse* begins कर्म निगूढ° (p. 27) and ends: रामानु (p. 34, vs. 14b).

2. MS. Second folio *obverse* begins: तिर्मम॥२१॥ (p. 15) and ends: सरस्तोये राजन् (p. 22).
   MS. Second folio *reverse* begins कुमुदसुमनोभिः (p. 22) and ends: प्रभूता ॥ ६ ॥ अथ च (p. 31).

The conclusion, therefore, is unavoidable that the extra folio is not a mere transcript of any folio of the क MS. This conclusion is strengthened by a comparison of the texts of the two folios in question which reveals the following divergences of readings:

	क MS	Extra folio
P.T. p. 16	दोणं; जणणी	दोल्लं; जननी
p. 18	तिसृभिरेव; आत्मविद्भिः	तिसृभिः; आत्मवद्भिः
,,	स्वगतम्	Omitted.
p. 19	प्रतीहारी चेटी मन्थरा च निष्क्रान्ताः	This stage-direction is omitted.
,,	रण्णीओ; पुत्तआ	राण्णीओ; पुत्ता
p. 20	जदो पुमत्था	जधा पुमरिधा
,,	महायज्ञा यथा	महायज्ञास्तथा
,,	पञ्च मम	मम पञ्च
p. 21	वयणपाडवं	वअणपाडवं
,,	भयवं (printed भअवं)	Omitted.
,,	संदोहो	Not legible.
,,	बत दिनमणेः संक्षयमगात्	...त दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
,,	प्रकाशो दीपानां	प्रका only can be read.
,,	रजनिवदनाभूषणमिव	निवदनालङ्कृतिरिव can be fairly made out.
p. 23	गत्वा	कृत्वा
p. 26	निभृतमन्त्रणे	°मन्त्रणेन
p. 27	बोद्धुं क्वचित्पार्यते	Rubbed out.
,,	सर्वत्रैव सदैव शंकितधियस्ते	Rubbed out.
,,	संशेरते	नक्तं च ते
,,	चतसिओ	चत्तारो
,,	एका चेटी	एका
,,	अण्णसि	अण्णे
,,	एतारिसाइं	एतादिसाइं

p. 28	तद्गत्वा	ततो गत्वा
„	परिजनेनोपास्यमानो	°जनोपेतो
p. 29	दृष्टं प्रजासुखं	दृष्टं सुखं
„	राज्ञीरव्यलीकाः	राज्ञी व्यलीकाः
p. 30	(प्रविश्य) प्रतीहारी	प्रतिहारी (प्रविश्य)
„	सुमन्त्रः (उपसृत्य) जयतु महाराजः। राजा–	Rubbed out.
„	राजा सुमन्त्रश्चोपविशतः	Omitted.
„	विजये, त्वं स्वस्थाने तिष्ठ	त्वं स्वनियोगं कुरु (apparently अशून्यं is missing)
p. 31	राज्ञो यशोभूरि	राज्ञोऽयशोऽभूरि
„	यतो भयम्	ततो भयम्
„	धर्मदृढाः	धर्मे दृढाः
„	अथ च	Omitted.
p. 32	त्यजतां लघु	त्यज्यतां लघुः
„	अथवा	Omitted.
„	भवेन्मनुष्यः	भवेन्नरेशः
p. 33	नयविनयपूर्ण	मनुजगुणपूर्ण
„	चिन्तयेदिदानीं	चिन्तयेदानीं
„	तस्य भवेन्न कष्टं	तत्र°
„	Stanza 13 (प्राक् etc.)	*Stanza omitted*

The extra folio, therefore, represents a different text which is not identical with the क MS. Could this folio then be a part of the other—ख—MS. which has been described in the Introduction but which, we are informed, is now irretrievably lost? This conjecture hardens into a positive conclusion when we take note of the fact that the readings of this extra folio are identical with the readings of the ख MS. in seven out of eight cases reported in the footnotes on the relevant pages of the printed text. (All these cases are underlined in the above list). Stanza

13 of Act II reported as non-extant in the ख MS. is absent in this extra folio also. Still more significant is the reading नरेशः in vs. 8 on p. 32 of the printed text which is also the reading of the extra folio against मनुष्यः of the क MS. Parallel is the case of पुमरिधा on p. 20. There should be little hesitation, therefore, in concluding that the extra folio belongs to the ख MS. and happens to be the only folio of that MS. preserved for us. It is rather curious, however, that this folio of the ख MS. should be identical in size and shape with the folios of the क MS. which, it should be noted, are not of the standard pattern. All folios have the unusual appearance of the pages of an old paper notebook and bear no pagination.

But what a remarkable accident that the one folio of the irretrievable ख MS. preserved for us should be the one containing the highly controversial stanza I.28, the question of whose reading has been discussed in detail in the first part of this article! The latter half of the stanza as far as can be made out would read:

घृणी . . . . . त दिनकरस्य क्षयमगात्
प्रका . . . . . निवदनालंकृतिरिव ।। २७ ।।

One thing is certain. The last *pāda* of this stanza in the ख MS. began with प्रका (शो) and not प्रदीपानां as restored by the editor in the reprint of this part of the text mentioned earlier in this article. The reading of the क MS., too, is not identical with the restored reading; which raises the question—Where did the reprinted reading:

घृणीनां पुञ्जोऽयं बत दिनकरस्यास्तमगमत्
प्रदीपानां भासो रजनिवदनालंकृतिरिव ।।

originate?

12 SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA

1. Among the major problems of Indian literary history demanding a solution, the problem of Kālidāsa's date is, perhaps, the most prominent. Scholars have bestowed the most devoted attention to this problem for more than a century, exhausting every possible source of evidence, literary, historical, epigraphic, archaeological, numismatic, but their labours have remained unrewarded to this day. No doubt, these sustained efforts of scholars have succeeded in clearing the cobwebs of many hazy, imaginary or ingenious theories consigning them to the limbo of the past, and fixing the focus on only two theories which, on evidence at our disposal, appear to be evenly balanced in their claim for acceptance. These are the traditional theory or the 1st Century B.C. theory and the Gupta theory or the 4th Century A.D. theory. While the 1st Century B.C. theory to-day claims a not inconsiderable measure of support, the 4th Century A.D. theory is lucky to enjoy a reputation and vogue that should really belong to a postulate which is established and proved beyond a shadow of doubt. The 4th Century A.D. or Gupta theory at best is a *safe* theory—which is very different from an established or proven theory. In fact, however, the Gupta theory suffers from such vital drawbacks in its formulation that

an all-too-willing suspension of disbelief on the part of scholars must be held responsible for their turning a blind eye upon them.[1] Refusing to believe in the existance of Vikramāditya at Ujjain in the 1st Century B.C. for want of probative evidence, they went about searching for a Vikramāditya, came across Chandragupta II (375-413 A.D.) who ruled at Ujjain after assuming the title "Vikramāditya" and accepted him as the Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī whose patronage Kālidāsa enjoyed. The fact, however, that Chandra Gupta II left his ancestral capital and came to Ujjain to assume the title Vikramāditya—he could have styled himself as "Vikramāditya" even at Pāṭaliputra—loudly proclaims that he desired to emulate a very distinguished predecessor bearing the name Vikramāditya, who ruled at Ujjain as capital. This assumption of the style of 'Vikramāditya' by Chandra Gupta II, appears to have failed to win popular approval or strike the imagination of the people; for Bāṇa, writing about a couple of centuries later, refers to him barely as Chandra Gupta without the slightest attempt to glorify him for his 'Vikrama' (valour) with which he killed the Śaka King and saved his brother's wife from the lust of the foreigners.[2] In fact, we know how Chandragupta encompassed the murder—if indeed, he did not commit it himself—of his elder brother Rāmagupta, married the latter's widow and ascended the throne, acts of sin and treachery too egregious even for the proverbially short memory of the people to forget or forgive. These and many other similar considerations would weigh very heavily against any glorification of Chandragupta II as the Vikramāditya—the hero of song and tale, with whom tra-

1. For details, see the *Date of Kālidāsa* by K. M. Shembavnekar in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Part VI, 1933.
2. Cf. अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयदिति ।— हर्षचरितम् p. 51 (Kane's Edn. 1917).

dition has associated our national poet, Kālidāsa. In this short paper, it is not possible to refer to the enormous mass of evidence and argument adduced for or against the one or the other of the two theories. What is possible and even necessary is a sifting and reappraising of the evidence or argument introduced from time to time and looking out for the balance of probability in favour of the one or the other view. This paper proposes to discuss a few of such arguments bearing on the question of Kālidāsa's date.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE *KUNTALEŚVARADAUTYA*

2. Mm. Dr. V. V. Mirashi is one of the staunch supporters of the view that Kālidāsa was a court-poet of Chandragupta II and has been writing on this subject quite frequently. One of the arguments introduced in this controversy turns upon the authorship of a literary work called *Kuntaleśvaradautya* which is traditionally ascribed to Kālidāsa.[3] Dr. Mirashi has dealt with this question in detail.[4] He cites the following stanza quoted by Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*:

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणामिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्भविभ्राजमानं धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

Kṣemendra comments upon this verse as follows:

अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तस्थाने स्वप्रभुसमुचितगौरवपूजार्हमासनमनासाद्य कार्यवशेन भूमावेवोपविष्टः प्रागल्भ्यगाम्भीर्येणैवं ब्रूते यथा--

i.e. the verse is uttered by an ambassador of a sovereign king who sat down on the ground in the court of a tendatory prince because he was not offered a seat in keeping with the dignity and status of his master. Mirashi also quotes the following verse which is cited in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā:*

असकलहसितत्वात्क्षालितानीव कान्त्या मुकुलितनयनत्वाद्व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

In the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, Bhoja introduces this stanza with the words: तद्यथा कालिदासः –'किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोति' इति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्ट उक्तवान्। i.e. the stanza embodies the reply which Kālidāsa gave to king Vikramāditya's enquiry as to how the king of the Kuntala region was doing. Holding that Kālidāsa was the author of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, Mirashi pieces the evidence of these quotations together and draws the conclusion that Kālidāsa must have been the emissary sent by Vikramāditya to the court of Kuntala king. He then proceeds to identify this Vikramāditya with Chandragupta II and explains that as Chandragupta II had entered into a marriage alliance with the Vākāṭakas by offering his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā to king Rudrasena, so he must have contracted a marriage relationship with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were ruling over Southern Kuntala, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king contemporaneous with Chandragupta II was Devarāja who is compared with Indra in an inscription. Mirashi surmises that Devarāja was compared with Indra, because, like the lord of heaven, he too, perhaps, was a man given to pleasures of life! Chandragupta II might have sent Kālidāsa as an envoy to Devarāja's Court. On return, Kālidāsa must have been questioned and must have reported that the Kuntala prince was passing his time in amorous pleasures, leaving all cares of state to 'you'!

3. Now, this entire build-up of Mirashi is more enthusiastic than convincing. Mirashi's explanation in so far as it rests on epigraphic evidence, would not make the Kuntala prince a vassal of Vikramāditya (Chandragupta II) as Rājaśekhara definitely avers he was. (Cf. the word

3. Cf. यथा कुन्तलेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य ।– क्षेमेन्द्र's औचित्यविचारचर्चा ।
4. See संशोधनमुक्तावली, सर पहिला. pp. 65ff.

सामन्त in the quotation given earlier). Secondly, Mirashi himself is aware of the difficulty of explaining why Chandragupta's emissary was treated with scant courtesy by the Kuntala prince. Thirdly, that Devarāja's comparison with Indra should have to be interpreted, for accommodating other evidence, as an indication of the easy life of pleasures (विलासलोलुपता) only shows the pathetic nature of the argument. Without any evidence to support, Mirashi goes on to suggest that Chandragupta II must have entered into a marriage alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family as he had done with the Vākāṭakas. He further surmises that the emissary sent to the Kuntala Court and insulted there as stated in the stanza quoted by Kṣemendra must have been Kālidāsa. The whole edifice of the arguments is built on a series of 'ifs' and 'perhaps' and is not capable of standing a close scrutiny. If the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* was, as Mirashi guesses, a drama of love with a historical background, one fails to understand how its author could introduce a verse or two about himself and his mission in the body of the drama. For aught we know, Kālidāsa is very reticent about himself and his times in his other works; and it would be surprising if he wrote a drama in which he figured directly or indirectly. In fact, one feels that Mirashi has depended too much on mere analogy in dealing with the question of the authorship of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. On the basis of his identification of Vikrāmāditya with Chandragupta II, he believes that the *Setubandha* ascribed to Pravarasena might, as tradition tells us, have been composed by Kālidāsa when he was sent by his patron to the Vākāṭaka capital to help Prabhāvatīguptā (daughter of Chandragupta II) in the administration of the Vidarbha kingdom. Similarly Kālidāsa might have composed the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. This theory is also made use of to explain that

the *Meghadūta* was composed by Kālidāsa during his stay at the Vidarbha Court, enabling him thereby to depict the anguish of separation personally experienced. We will do well to remember that a score of possibilities cannot add up in value to half as much as a single probability. All these statements hang together in the air in what is made out to be interdependence, but they are lacking a root in the solid ground of evidence.

4. As a matter of fact the question of the authorship of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* needs to be studied more closely in the light of Kṣemendra's quotation under discussion. In the *Aucityavicāra-carcā*, authors, eminent or otherwise for us today, are quoted. Among the authors so quoted figure names like Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti, Pravarasena, Śrī Harṣa (Candraka), Śyāmala, Gauḍa-Kumbhakāra, Śri Cakra etc. Every quotation except from his own compositions, is introduced by him simply with the genitive case of the author's name, e.g. यथा श्रीहर्षस्य, यथा भवभूतेः, यथा दीपकस्य etc. In the case of quotations from his own works, however, he uniformly adds the name of the work from which the quotation is taken. He quotes verses from Kālidāsa eight times in all. In seven of these cases, he uses the normal introductory phrase यथा कालिदासस्य (or यथा अस्य in a confirmatory reference) as follows:

1. यथा कालिदासस्य–जातं वंशे भुवनविदिते पुष्करावर्तकानाम् etc. (मेघ.) under प्रबन्धार्थौचित्य. Vs. 13

2. यथा वा कालिदासस्य–ऊरुमूलनखमार्गपंक्तिभिस्तत्क्षणं हृतविलोचनो हरः। etc. (कुमार. ८.८७) under प्रबन्धार्थौचित्य Vs. 13.

3. यथा वा कालिदासस्य–बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकाशभावाद्बभुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि। etc. (कुमार. ३.२९) under रसौचित्य. Vs. 16.

4 न तु यथास्यैव–वर्णप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं दुनोति निर्गन्धतया स्म चेतः। etc. (कुमार. ३.२८) under रसौचित्य Vs. 16.

5. यथा कालिदासस्य–अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा यथाविधि सूनवे etc. (रघु. ३.७०) under कुलौचित्य. Vs. 28.

6. यथा कालिदासस्य–इदमसुलभवस्तुप्रार्थनादुर्निवारं etc. (विक्रम. २.६) under नामौचित्य. Vs. 38.

7. न तु यथा कालिदासस्य–क्रोधं प्रभो संहर संहरेति etc. (कुमार. ३.७२) under नामौचित्य. Vs. 38.

5. Kṣemendra departs from this general practice followed by him in the case of all other authors including Kālidāsa only in one case where he quotes the name of the author as well as the name of the work from which he has cited the quotation: अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा–कुन्तलेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य–इह निवसति मेरुः etc. (quoted earlier). This is a significant deviation and its investigation is likely to yield interesting results. Let us at the outset deal with a possible explanation that Kṣemendra found it necessary to name the work in this case because the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* was not quite as well known as the other works of Kālidāsa. This explanation is not valid. For, Kṣemendra must have cited verses from authors who and whose works were well known in his days. The authorship of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* must not have been a problem to him as it is to us today. For, in that case, he would have hardly cared to pick up a quotation from it. As a matter of fact, however, as already shown above, Kṣemendra quotes verses even from authors who are little more than mere names to us; yet he has not seen the need to name their works. These authors and their works must have been widely known in his days and a bare mention of the name of the author was considered sufficient in every case to enable readers to trace and identify the verse quoted. Similarly, Kṣemendra must have been fully aware of the name of the author of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* from which this verse is quoted. That author's name was Kālidāsa; but

he was not *the* Kālidāsa—the author of the *Meghadūta* and *Kumārasaṁbhava* and *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Śākuntala*. If this Kālidāsa had been the author of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, Kṣemendra would not have stated the name of the work in the introductory reference in this solitary instance. But, as the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* was the composition of some other person bearing the name of Kālidāsa, he had of necessity to distinguish between the two Kālidāsas. He did this by naming the other Kālidāsa along with his work—the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*—from which the quotation was taken. Had he not adopted this procedure and merley named the author Kālidāsa, the readers would have confused the two Kālidāsas and would have considered the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* a work of the Kālidāsa. This evidence from Kṣemendra, therefore, would show that the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, although composed by a Kālidāsa, was not a work of *the* Kālidāsa—the famous author of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Śākuntala*. This reference of Kṣemendra, has been responsible for the confusion prevailing among scholars regarding the authorship of the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, because it was taken at its face value. The present discussion should show that Kṣemendra knew the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* as a work of a latter-day namesake of Kālidāsa—and not of Kālidāsa himself.

VĀTSYĀYANA'S *KĀMASŪTRA* AND KĀLIDĀSA

6. Next, we may turn to an equally important question—the question of Kālidāsa's indebtedness to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. It has been pointed out that in the well known advice which Kaṇva gives to Śakuntalā in the famous verse शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् कुरु प्रियसखीवृत्तिं सपत्नीजने etc. (IV.20) Kālidāsa has used the very words and expressions of the

Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana. For instance, शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् is practically identical with Vātsyāyayana's *sūtra* श्वश्रूश्वशुरपरिचर्या तत्पारतन्त्र्यमनुत्तरवादिता। (Kām. Sūt. 4.1.37). भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा परिजने and भोगेषु (v.l. भाग्येषु) अनुत्सेकिनी in the third line literally reproduces the two *sūtras* of Vātsyāyana viz. भोगेष्वनुत्सेकः। (4.1.39) and परिजने दाक्षिण्यं (4.1.40). The second line भर्तुर्विप्रकृतापि रोषणतया मा स्म प्रतीपं गमः। is an echo of Vātsyāyana's नायकापचारेषु किंचित् कलुषिता नात्यर्थं निर्वदेत्। (4.1.19). Moreover, it is argued that the behaviour of Śakuntalā at the time of her first meeting with the king in the first act closely follows the rules laid down in the कन्यासंप्रयुक्तक chapter by Vātsyāyana. The conclusion arrived at from these pieces of evidence is that Kālidāsa has drawn on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and that, as Vātsyāyana's date is generally accepted to be 250 A.D., Kālidāsa came after him. This would support the 4th Century A.D. theory.

7. Now, it is obvious that there is a great similarity of ideas and expressions between Vātsyāyana and Kālidāsa here. Yet the evidence furnished by this similarity must be carefully scrutinized in all its bearings before arriving at any judgement about Kālidāsa's indebtedness to Vātsyāyana. As a matter of fact, a close scrutiny reveals clear divergence between the two. And, in a matter which is dealt with on a scientific basis as in the *Kāmasūtra*, a deviation of detail assumes vital significance Now, all the four *sūtras* of Vātsyāyana quoted above form part of the code of conduct which Vātsyāyana lays down for an एकचारिणी i.e. a wife who has no co-wife. On the other hand, Śakuntalā has more than one co-wife सपत्नीजन (a number of co-wives) as Kaṇva puts it. In fact, Vātsyāyana deals with the code of conduct of co-wives separately. He divides co-wives into ज्येष्ठा (senior) and कनिष्ठा (junior) and lays down instructions about the way each one of them should behave. Thus Kālidāsa does not

abide by the letter of Vātsyāyana's rules. Not only this, Śakuntalā, being a junior co-wife –कनिष्ठा– must, according to Vātsyāyana, look upon the ज्येष्ठा (senior co-wife) as a mother, cf. कनिष्ठा तु मातृवत् सपत्नीं पश्येत्। (4.2.24). This is indeed not the same as प्रियसखीवृत्ति सपत्नीजने of Kālidāsa. Again, while Kālidāsa advises Śakuntalā to 'serve the elders' (शुश्रूषस्व गुरून्) other than co-wives, Vātsyāyana does not see the need of such a reference to elders at all in the case of a junior co-wife. For the कनिष्ठा (junior co-wife), the ज्येष्ठा (senior co-wife) is the only elder that matters. However, the contrast between Kālidāsa and Vātsyāyana is brought into sharp focus by the fact that while Kālidāsa advises Śakuntalā, a junior co-wife, to cultivate an attitude of friendliness with (issueless) senior queen (कुरु प्रियसखीवृत्ति सपत्नीजने) Vātsyāyana advises the कनिष्ठा at best to sympathise with an issueless senior co-wife, cf. दुर्भगामनपत्यां च ज्येष्ठामनुकम्पेत् नायकेन चानुकम्पयेत्। (4.2.37). What is remarkable is that he even recommends that the junior co-wife may forcibly supersede the issueless senior co-wife and assume a status similar to that of an एकचारिणी for herself. cf. प्रसह्य त्वेनामेकचारिणीवृत्तमनुतिष्ठेदिति कनिष्ठावृत्तम्। (4.2.38). All this is sufficient to show that despite the similarity of ideas and expression in general, Kālidāsa does not follow Vātsyāyana—in fact, he even contradicts Vātsyāyana. Kālidāsa's advice to Śakuntalā is inherently more simple, matter of fact and based on commonsense. Therefore, if Kālidāsa is under obligation to any scientific work on the subject, it must be a work earlier and simpler than Vātsyāyana's *sūtras* with their technicalities and scientific classifications. And Vātsyāyana's work itself bears ample testimony to the fact that he had a very large number of predecessors in the study of the *Kāma-śāstra*; and the terminology of the *Śāstra* must naturally have taken time to settle.

EVIDENCE OF THE *MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRA*

8. Scholars had early recognized the importance of *Mālavikāgnimitra* as a piece of evidence for settling the upper limit of Kālidāsa's date. This play, an erotic play in the main, has a historical background and deals with some historical persons and incidents. It has been accepted on all hands that Bṛhadratha, the last Mauryan King of Pāṭaliputra, was assassinated by Puṣyamitra, his Commander of the army, who usurped the throne and founded the Śuṅga dynasty about 183 B.C. Agnimitra, Puṣyamitra's son, is the hero of the *Mālavikāgnimitra;* he is portrayed as a king of Vidiśā (cf. अत्रभवान् विदिशेश्वरः संप्राप्तः ।) (Act IV), modern Bhilsa on the Betwa river in Malwa. These historical elements woven up by Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* fix the 2nd Century B.C. as the upper limit of his own date. The importance of this valuable piece of evidence, however, lost all edge, as the protagonists of neither of the two rival theories about Kālidāsa's date stood to gain any advantage from it. It therefore remained a unanimously accepted evidence for the upper limit with no further stake in the controversy regarding the poet's date.

9. In recent years, however, Dr. Kunhan Raja has turned the spotlight on the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and advanced the view that Kālidāsa was a poet enjoying the patronage of king Agnimitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, ruling at Vidiśā in the 2nd Century B.C. He bases this view mainly on two grounds: (1) The concluding benedictory stanza of the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* technically called the *Bharatavākya,* is rather unusual in character and evidently refers to the administrative efficiency of Agnimitra who was the poet's patron. Dr. Raja makes attempts to present the character of Agnimitra in the drama in a favourable light.

(2) In vs. 25 of the *Meghadūta,* Kālidāsa specifically mentions Vidiśā as the capital. cf. तेषां दिक्षु प्रथितविदिशालक्षणां राजधानीम् । We know from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that Vidiśā was the capital of Agnimitra. Therefore, says Dr. Raja, Kālidāsa may well have lived at Vidiśā, enjoying the patronage of Agnimitra in the 2nd century B.C.

10. This view of Dr. Raja has found little support. To take the second argument first, it appears all too hasty to infer from Kālidāsa's reference to Vidiśā as the capital (राजधानी) that Vidiśā was the capital of the poet's own patron. It would be absurd for a poet, intending to glorify the capital of his patron, to merely call it राजधानी (the capital) and dismiss its description in just one single line. This is exactly what Kālidāsa has done in this case. We may well contrast this with the warm and gorgeous description of Ujjayinī given by the poet in about a dozen stanzas; and this, despite the fact that Ujjayinī did not lie directly on the route of the cloud's journey. Dr. Raja's attempt to show Agnimitra in a favourable light and to present him as a hero who would evoke our admiration or respect appears specious and laboured. Agnimitra is portrayed as a timid lover, without resourcefulness of his own, who is twice presented on the stage as being heckled by the impetuous junior queen, Irāvatī. Such scenes are hardly complimentary when presented on the stage. No dramatist would, even could, dream of such ambiguous presentation of his own patron; and no king would allow such portrayal of himself on the stage before his own subjects. The concluding benedictory verse may be unusual; the explanation of its unusual character is to be sought in some other direction—especially in view of the observations made just above.

11. And yet, these very elements, it appears, can, if properly appraised, throw valuable light on the ques-

tion of Kālidāsa's date. In the introduction of the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Kālidāsa enters an eternally valid defence on behalf of modern or contemporaneous literature in the verse: पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम्। Bhāsa and other earlier dramatists dealt with ancient themes and won deserved fame. But that was no reason why a 'modern' play by a contemporary author should be prejudged and dismissed by the audience as of little interest. In effect, Kālidāsa asserts that if Bhāsa and others wrote about *Purāṇic* heroes or about ancient heroes like Udayana and his amours, he (Kālidāsa) could write about a modern (नव) king and his amours and hope to be equally successful. Now, this would imply that Kālidāsa must not be far removed in time from Agnimitra, for, for one thing, the plot of the drama dealing with Agnimitra would otherwise not be 'modern', and, secondly, the audience of Kālidāsa's days could take a living interest in the doings of the hero only if they were near enough in time to him to have some knowledge about him. If, on the other hand, Kālidāsa lived in the 4th century A.D. under Chandragupta II, he could hardly be expected to write a play about Agnimitra who would have flourished some six centuries before him and who, apart from the importance which Kālidāsa's drama has invested him with, belongs only to the scrap-heap of history. Agnimitra was not a Rāma or Kṛṣṇa or Udayana or Cāṇakya whose deeds and glory are perennial themes of poets and dramatists. No one would care to write about Agnimitra once his local or topical importance died out. But imagine the tremendous impact which the *Mālavikāgnimitra* must have made on and the lively, understanding interest it must have created in the audiences of Ujjayinī with its amorous adventures and hen-pecked heroics of a king of a neighbouring kingdom who lived only a few decades ago and of

whose activities they had a living memory! Kālidāsa made the drama 'modern' (नव) by selecting a 'modern' theme. In selecting a near-contemporary king of a neighbouring kingdom as the hero, the dramatist cut himself free from the restraints which the selection of his own patron as the hero would have necessarily entailed; and he took the fullest advantage of this freedom to regale his audiences with a light-hearted portrayal of a royal hero and his amours.

12. The almost casual-looking references to Vidiśā as the capital (राजधानी) in the *Meghadūta* would be adequately explained by the 1st century B.C. theory. Vidiśā was still known as a capital in the 1st century B.C.—though not the capital of Kālidāsa's own patron. The bare reference to Vidiśā as a capital would remind the readers of the *Meghadūta* of the theme of the *Mālavikāgnimitra.* But Vidiśā was dismissed by Kālidāsa as a matter of historical fact about his times because the poet had no personal ties with the city. Vidiśā might have retained importance in the 4th century A.D. but whether Kālidāsa had any immediate or cogent reason to describe it as a capital is problematical.

13. Thus, the evidence of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Meghadūta,* especially the latter's references to Vidiśā as a capital, would favour the 1st century B.C. rather than the 4th century A.D. as the time when Kālidāsa lived.

13 BĀṆA'S POETRY : ITS AMPLITUDE

बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम् is a familiar tag. Some one impressed by the poetry of Bāṇa appears to have seized upon this familiar tribute to Vyāsa and used it to express his admiration for Bāṇa by saying बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्। The propriety of this observation is very obvious in the case of Vyāsa who is credited with the composition of an enormous mass of literature. Tradition does not bother about scientific critical processes and therefore is not worried about the question of the identity of Vyāsa. It proceeds to assert that Vyāsa was responsible for the classification and arrangement of the *Vedas* (विव्यास वेदान्), composed the massive Epic of one hundred thousand verses which the *Mahābhārata* is, wrote the no less enormous body of literature in the form of the eighteen *Purāṇas* and lastly composed the *Brahmasūtra* with the set purpose of reducing the chaotic mass of statements in the *Upaniṣads* to an integrated philosophical system. Naturally, the subject-matter of this vast mass of literature is extensive and no less varied. History, tale and legend, myth and ritual, religion and philosophy, law and administration, ethics and morality, sociology and economics—indeed, every aspect of human life, individual and corporate, intellectual, moral, emotional and spiritual has been dealt with in this

enormous literary output ascribed to Vyāsa. In fact, only a single work of his, viz., the *Mahābhārata,* claims and claims justifiably that what is found in it will be found elsewhere; what is not found in it will be found nowhere else: यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्क्वचित्। Thus, the statement that Vyāsa has left nothing untouched would stand justified by the extent as well as variety of the contents of his compositions.

In what a sharp contrast Bāṇa stands! The *Kādambarī,* the *Harṣacaritam,* the *Caṇḍī-śatakam,* the *Pārvatī-pariṇayam* or any other drama—these could hardly add up to anything in extent which could entitle one to speak of Bāṇa and Vyāsa in the same breath. Nor could two tales —one legendary and the other historical in its theme; a devotional apostrophe and a mythological drama, however varied and interesting in form, could claim anything like the variety of the contents of Vyāsa's works. And yet some connoisseur of Bāṇa's poetry who at the same time was acquainted with Vyāsa's works has felt impelled to assert that like Vyāsa, Bāṇa too, has 'embraced' the whole world. He could not have been unaware of the great disparity in the nature and extent of the literary compositions of the two; how did he then come to speak of the two in identical terms of appreciation?

Very probably, Bāṇa himself was responsible for putting the idea of such a comparison into the mind of his admirer. The ninth stanza in the Introduction to the first *Ucchvāsa* of the *Harṣacaritam* reads:

किं कवेस्तस्य काव्येन सर्ववृत्तान्तगामिनी।
कथेव भारती यस्य न व्याप्नोति जगत्त्रयम्॥

Obviously, the word *Bhāratī* is paronomastic here. Bāṇa asks in this stanza: What is the use of a poetic composition if the creative imagination (lit. speech) of the author does not range over all kinds of situations and embrace

the three worlds just like the *Mahābhārata*?[1] After making allowances for an element of exaggeration in this stanza, it is clear that in Bāṇa's view a poetical composition should have as large a canvas as possible—'the three worlds', to use Bāṇa's words—and aim at portraying thereon all kinds of situations and incidents. The *Bhāratī Kathā*—the *Mahābhārata* tale—as Bāṇa has rightly observed, possesses both these characteristics, viz., a vast canvas and an abundant variety of incidents and situations. It is only to be expected that Bāṇa who places this ideal before a poetical composition, especially a *Kathā*, should himself try to make his own literary composition as broad in range and varied in contents as possible. A reader of the *Kādambarī* (*Kād.*) and the *Harṣacaritam* (*Hc*). who is aware of this ideal of poetry as conceived by Bāṇa and who has read the works with understanding and interest may have felt inclined to apply the expression originally coined by way of an appreciation of Vyāsa to Bāṇa. By the way, it would appear from the verse quoted above that the expression व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम् । may have a reference only to the *Mahābhārata* (the *Bhāratī kathā*) and not to other works ascribed to Vyāsa.

Leaving aside this historical aspect of the appreciation of Bāṇa, let us consider for ourselves how far and in what sense this appreciation of Bāṇa's poetry viz. बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्। is true. To understand the problem better, it is necessary to take into account the way Bāṇa lived. For it is a truism today to say that the nature and range of the world created by the imagination of a creative mind will be circumscribed, in a wider sense, by the quality and range of his experience in real life. Fortunately we are

1. The word वृत्तान्त in the stanza is also paronomastic and refers to metres. What an (unconscious?) irony for an author whose great fame rests on non-metrical works to imply that a poetical work is not worth much if it does not reveal mastery over metres?

all aware of the broad facts of the life of Bāṇa which he has described in the first three *Ucchvāsas* of the *Harṣacaritam*. We know that he was born in a pious and cultured Brahmin family and was well educated. He lost his mother while he was yet a child and his father, too, while he was only fourteen years old. More interesting and striking is the information he has given about the motley crowd of friends he had: gambler, juggler, dancer, flutist, ascetic, Jain monk, alchemist, betel-vendor, painter, modeller (पुस्तकृत्), shampooer etc. of whom a few were women, too. Cf. अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च । तथा च । भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ, भाषाकविरीशानः परं मित्रम्, प्रणयिनौ रुद्रनारायणौ, विद्वांसौ वारबाणवासबाणौ, वर्णकविर्वेणीभारतः, प्राकृतकृत् कुलपुत्रो वायुविकारः, बन्दिनावनङ्गबाणसूचिबाणौ, कात्यायनिका चक्रवाकिका, जाङ्गलिको मयूरकः, ताम्बूलदायकश्चण्डकः, भिषक्पुत्रो मन्दारकः, पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः, कलादश्चामीकरः हैरिकः सिन्धुषेणः, लेखको गोविन्दकः, चित्रकृद्वीरवर्मा, पुस्तकृत्कुमारदत्तः, मार्दङ्गिको जीमूतः, गायनौ सोमिलग्रहादित्यौ, सैरन्ध्री कुरङ्गिका, वांशिकौ मधुकरपारावतौ, गान्धर्वोपाध्यायो दर्दुरकः, संवाहिका केरलिका, लासकयुवा ताण्डविकः, आक्षिकः आखण्डलः, कितवो भीमकः, शैलालियुवा शिखण्डकः, नर्तकी हरिणिका, पाराशरी सुमतिः, क्षपणको वीरदेवः, कथको जयसेनः, शैवो वक्रघोणः, मन्त्रसाधकः करालः, असुरविवरव्यसनी लोहिताक्षः, धातुवादविद्विहङ्गमः, दार्दुरिको दामोदरः, एन्द्रजालिकश्चकोराक्षः, मस्करी ताम्रचूडः । (*Harṣacaritam*. I)

A teen-ager in affluent circumstances, moving among friends of a dubious, if not low, social status, Bāṇa may be said to have seen life in the raw; and, as he confesses, he incurred public obloquy of his acts of juvenile indiscretion. Soon after the death of his father, this restless youth animated by wanderlust roamed about from place to place visiting royal courts, learned assemblies and literary gatherings. He ended up, as we know, by walking into the royal court of emperor Harṣa and basked in royal patronage. All this first-hand experience of the various strata of society is the substance on which creative imagination works and *creates*. The creative imagination of Bāṇa who was rich and ripe with experience of men and

things from the highest to the lowest had obviously abundant and varied stuff from which to create an imaginative world 'embracing the three worlds.'

Let us then, first, try to get a kaleidoscopic view of the world of nature which Bāṇa's creative imagination has worked upon. It takes us to the luxuriant and tangled growth of the Vindhya-*aṭavī* with its varied flora and fauna, the Daṇḍaka forest and the Godāvarī river still evoking vivid memories of the stay of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā there and the lovely Pampā lake studded with lotuses and over which clouds are hanging low and taking in the water under the impression that it is the ocean! Next, we are transported to the semi-celestial regions of the Himālaya mountain with its northern boundary where no human has set foot. In the midst of the romantic setting of this verdant region lies the Acchoda lake with its silver sheen and crystal-clear water, the splash of the wings of birds occasionally breaking its heavenly calm. The description of the Acchoda lake places the accent on mythological association. From the seasons, Bāṇa gives a full-dress description of Summer (ग्रीष्म) in *HC* and Spring (वसन्त) in *Kād.* (We leave out of consideration the ambitious description of the rainy season given by Bāṇa's son in the latter part of *Kād.*). This, however, does not mean that the other seasons and their characteristics are altogether absent in Bāṇa's works. On the contrary, descriptions not only of natural regions but individuals and places often carry poetic conceits based on them. e.g. ladies in Ujjayinī are compared to the glory of monsoon days with the help of a pun: काश्चिज्जलधरसमयदिवसश्रिय इवेन्द्रायुधरागरुचिराम्बरधारिण्यः। (*Kād.* p. 182) Also शरदमिवोत्पादितमानसजन्मपक्षिरवापनीतनीलकण्ठमदाम्। (*ibid.* p. 393).

Bāṇa has described the morning and sunrise, more often evening, sunset, the advent of the night and moon-

rise. These descriptions possess a lavishness and splendour of which Bāṇa's imagination, alone, is perhaps capable. The significant point to be noted, however, is that these phenomena are described with contextual relevance or objective correlation. Let us see the descriptions of sunset given by Bāṇa:

(i) Sunset in Jābāli's hermitage: अनेन च समयेन परिणतो दिवसः। स्नानोत्थितेन मुनिजनेनार्घ्यविधिमुपपादयता यः क्षितितले दत्तस्तमम्बरतलगतः साक्षादिव रक्तचन्दनरागं रविरुदवहत्। ऊर्ध्वमुखैरर्कबिम्बविनिहितदृष्टिभिरूष्मपैस्तपोधनैरिव परिपीयमानतेजः प्रसरो विरलातपस्तनिमानमभजत्।

(ii) When Mahāśvetā is suffering intense anguish of love, she describes the sun-set: अथ मदीयेनेव हृदयेन कृतरागसंविभागे लोहितायति गगनतलावलम्बिनि रविबिम्बे, सरागदिवसकरदर्शनानुरक्तायां कृतकमलशयनायामनङ्गातुरायामिव पाण्डुतां व्रजन्त्यामातपलक्ष्म्याम्. ... (*Kād.* p. 321).

(iii) When Kādambarī is suffering similar anguish: अथ हृदयस्थितकमलिनीरागेणेव रज्यमाने राजीवजीवितेश्वरे सकललोकचक्रवालचक्रवर्तिनि भगवति पूष्णि,... कादम्बरीहृदयरागसागरेणेवापूरिते सन्ध्यारागेण जीवलोके। (*Kād.* p. 422).

(iv) In the *Harṣacaritam*, King Puṣpabhūti who had promised to guard the 'Vetālasādhanā' ceremony of Bhairavācārya got ready with the miraculous sword; Bāṇa describes the evening in the following words: ततः परिणते दिवसे केनापि कर्मसाधनाय कृतरुधिरबलिविधानास्विव लोहितायमानासु दिक्षु, रुधिरबलिलम्पटासु च वेतालजिह्वास्विव लम्बमानासु च रविदीधितिषु, नरेन्द्रानुरागेण गृहीतापरदिशि स्वयमिव दिक्पालतां चिकीर्षति सवितरि.....।

(iv.a) Sundown of the day on which King Prabhākaravardhana died: अस्मिन्नेवान्तरे पूषाप्यायुषेव तेजसा व्ययुज्यत। ...भूपालाभावशोकशिखिनेव चान्तस्ताप्यमानस्ताम्रतां प्रपेदे।..एवं च महानराधिपनिधनमिधीयमानविपुलवैराग्य इव शान्तवपुषि विशति गिरिगुहागह्वरं गभस्तिमालिनि, समुपोह्यमानमहाजनाश्रुदुर्दिनार्द्रीकृत इव निर्वात्यातपे.. (*Harṣacaritam*, p. 32).

(v) Sunset on the mournful day Rājyavardhana returned to the capital: स च प्रत्यग्रत्वष्टृतङ्कतष्टतनुरिव वहद्बहलरुधिरलग्नमांसच्छविरपरपारावारपयसि ममज्ज मज्जिष्ठारुणोऽरुणसारथिः। (*Harṣacaritam*, p. 39).

(vi) Sunset of the day when Harṣa, distressed and angered by the treachery of the Gauḍa king against Rājyavardhana, vowed vengeance and decided to challenge all kings to surrender or face annihilation: ततश्च निजाधिकरापहारभीत इव भगवत्यपि क्वापि गते गततेजस्यहिमभासि। (*Harṣacaritam*, p. 48).

(vii) Lastly, note the concluding para of the *Harṣacaritam* wherein Bāṇa says that the day ended while Harṣa who had returned to his camp on the bank of the Ganges was narrating the incidents connected with the recovery of Rājyaśrī. The red glow of the setting sun is described by Bāṇa with a flourish of dreadful ominous overtones of mythological references. Particularly noteworthy is the statement: क्रमेण च समुपोह्यमानमांसलरागरोचिष्णुरुष्णांशुः...पितृवधरुषितरामरागरचितः पृथुविकटकार्तवीर्यासकूटकुट्टाककुठारतुण्डतुष्टदुष्टक्षत्रियकण्डकुहररुधिरकुल्याप्रणालसहस्रपूरितो ह्रद इव दूररोधी रौधिरः।

For, Bāṇa has given the same mythological reference in the third *ucchvāsa* when he promised to describe the glories of Śrī Harṣa to his cousins the following morning as it was already evening time that day: अद्य तु परिणतप्रायो दिवसः। पश्चाल्लम्बमानकपिलकिरणजटाभारभास्वरो भगवान्भार्गवो राम इव समन्तपञ्चकरुधिरमहाह्रदे निमज्जति सन्ध्यारागपटले पूषा।

This latter fancy is explicable in the context, because immediately thereafter Bāṇa went to the river Śoṇa to offer evening worship: सन्ध्यामुपासितुं शोणमयासीत्। As for the horrid and ominous conceits about the setting sun in the last para of the *Harṣacaritam*, the surmise of Cowell and Thomas that they indicate bloody wars appears to be correct: perhaps they are indicative of the determination of the enraged Harṣa to avenge the slaughter of his relatives and offer them *añjalis* of blood by way of the *Śrāddha* offerings.

This rather detailed presentation of the treatment of the phenomenon of sunset in the works of Bāṇa is intended to illustrate the poet's approach to the subject of his descriptions. The same phenomenon is treated in different colours in consonance with the mood of the situation —the contextual relevance. The abundance of descriptions in Bāṇa's works is not a mere amorphous splash of uncontrolled verbiage. There is a significance behind the descriptions which appear repetitive but present a variety which is delightful.

And the ascetics: the old venerable figure of the sage Jābāli with his wrinkled but refulgent body and spiritual calm hushing all hostility even among birds and beasts, sitting under an Aśoka tree; the old *Draviḍa* priest, uncouth in body, mind and soul, in charge of the Caṇḍikā shrine, over whom—and the *Śakti* cult which *he* represented—Bāṇa has poured stinging satire and ironical pleasantries; the serious-minded devotee of Śiva, Bhairavācārya, pious but intent on the performance of mystic rites for acquiring magic powers; and Divākaramitra, the Buddhist monk, an embodiment of compassion (मैत्रीमयः प्रकृत्या; पारं परानुकम्पायाः।) in red robes. Each one of them is portrayed as an individual who is more than an individual—his personality spreading over and characterising his surroundings like the halo of divine figures in painting. The luxurious variety of flora and fauna of the hermitages of these ascetics, whose description is idealistic and has little relation to the facts of physical geography, is designed directly or indirectly to specify and accentuate the spirit of the place. How vividly, for instance, Bāṇa conjures up the desolation of the surroundings of the fearful interior of the temple of Caṇḍikā with a single stroke of the brush as it were: सर्वतः कठोरवायसगणेन च रटता स्तुतिपरेणेव स्तूयमानाम्। Compare this with the celestial setting of the shrine of Śiva where the exquisitely lovely and fair young Mahāśvetā, her heart heavy with grief, is offering worship with strains of heavenly music. The Acchoda lake, the woodland on its banks with the Śiva temple and Mahāśvetā the Gandharva maiden with her musical strains—all these 'dissolve' into a picture of superb unearthly beauty.

Bāṇa has occasions to describe cities like Vidiśā, Ujjayinī, the capital of Citraratha, Sthāṇvīśvara. He describes them with varying details but gives full play to his poetic imagination in the description of Ujjayinī—with its white city-wall surrounded by a moat, palatial mansions, broad thoroughfares, shops and rich merchandise, gardens and lotus-ponds, music and dance, peacocks and *cakravākas* etc.; with its residents gay and pleasure-loving but not transgressing the code of decent behaviour. The descriptions of Ujjayinī and other cities reveal little individuality and add up only to the description of a type, of course from a highly idealized approach.

More interesting is the description of royal palaces a number of which Bāṇa has described. While the basic idealist approach is common to all descriptions of royal palaces, there is a significant difference in the selection of details in them. An overall description of the *Rāja-kula* is given while describing Candrāpīḍa's return from college after ten years, yet close-up views of certain aspects of life in the royal palace are found elsewhere. For instance, the session of a royal *Durbar* and its adjournment, king Śūdraka's ablution, morning worship, make-up and mid-day meal are described in good detail in Śūdraka's palace in Vidiśā. A brief reference to the harem is made in the description of both Śūdraka's palace and Tārāpīḍa's palace. But the flood-light of Bāṇa's creative imagination is trained on the harem of Citraratha, the *Kumārī-pura* (the princess' place) of *Kādambarī* with its romantic richness and Kādambarī's *Hima-gṛha* (summer house) with its unbelievable grandeur. Bāṇa describes a royal palace on the birth of a prince (both in *Kād.* and *HC*), on the festive occasion of a marriage in the royal family (of Rājyaśrī in *HC*) as well as on the mournful eve of Prabhākaravardhana's death. . The mere variety of approach in the treatment of one and the same theme appears deliberate, particularly when it is resorted to in many cases.

This bare recital of some of the diverse natural objects or phenomena and the different angles of approach to them is totally inadequate to give us any idea of the abundance and richness which Bāṇa's imagination bestows on the material on which it works. In the first place, we have to note that there is a pattern behind his descriptions. He would start with a general description and then proceed with its details, leaving out nothing; or he would begin with the description, especially of places, of the external aspects and then progressively describe the details in the interior. Even these descriptions of details of an object are not—with Bāṇa they could not be—merely matter of fact or ordinary. For Bāṇa, a spade is not merely a spade—it is more than a spade as we know it in real life. Indeed, Bāṇa's poetic imagination has a prismatic and not a plane-glass transparency. Anything that he picks up for poetic treatment refracts through his prismatic imagination into the splendour of spectral colours. Take for instance the description of the horse Indrāyudha (or the elephant Darpaśāta or even the *śālmalī* tree). The description of Indrāyudha, while basically true of a horse, is yet cast in highly fanciful moulds of detail with the help of similes or fancies based on mythological references or only conceits; and the sheer weight of this loaded treatment appears to smother the actual object of description. The description of details of an object is followed by an orgy of similes or contrasts or poetic exclusion (*parisaṁkhyā*) based on paronomastic use of epithets. In the end, the description of the horse becomes so comprehensive with all possibilities poetically exploited that anybody wishing to describe a horse would be hard put to steering clear of the details given by Bāṇa in the description of Indrāyudha. And this holds good in the case of every object described by Bāṇa. It would be natural for any body to feel after reading the description of Indrāyudha, Darpaśāta, the *śālmalī* tree,

Ujjayinī, the royal palace, the hermitages, the Kumārī-pura, the summer-house, even the horse-stable in *HC* and sunset, moonrise etc. that Bāṇa has left nothing out! बाणोच्छिष्टं सर्वम् ।

We referred to the weight of loaded descriptions smothering the theme. This, however, is a complaint which readers like ourselves belonging to a different literary climate are inclined to make. It is obvious that it is unfair to judge literary works of a different era by standards which are formally alien to them. Bāṇa, as we know, lived in an age when the arts were patronized and cultivated at the royal court or the aristocratic elite in society. Bāṇa wrote for this leisured aristocracy which had time and taste to appreciate a good phrase, a witty quip, a subtle fancy or a deft pun. Bāṇa's descriptions do not attempt a cumulative build-up and create a total image of the thing described. What is more, sometimes epithets contradict or cancel each other in content, leaving a modern reader bewildered. This is because every epithet in Bāṇa's descriptions is a unit by itself and is to be enjoyed by itself. Indeed, what the authors of the *Mahākāvyas* from Bhāravi onwards attempted to achieve by their workmanship on individual verses, caring little for the theme as a whole, Bāṇa has attempted to achieve in prose through the epithets which generally are bold exercises in poetic fancy and often complex in conception.*

* The written script of the lecture breaks at this point. For the remaining part of the lecture, we have only jottings which are not included here. In the remaining part, Prof. Jhala pointed out references to the social customs, *Varṇas*, four *Āśramas*, *Saṁskāras*, social and religious conventions and beliefs prevalent at courts and in hermitages, between men and women, practices observed for getting a child, belief in dreams and omens, marriage conventions, pastimes and sports (for men as well as women), dresses and ornaments, religious, philosophical and sectarian references, practices of *Saṁnyāsins* and *Śāktas*, even Buddhists; sciences like Vedic studies, *Darśanas* and the great Epics, *Purāṇas*, archery, medicine, grammar, metrics, poetics, thus trying to show the exhaustive nature of Bāṇa's depiction of the themes and objects which go to prove, in a different way, the statement बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्—Editors.

14 A NOTE ON BĀṆA'S KĀDAMBARĪ AND HARṢA'S PRIYADARŚIKĀ

There hardly remains any room for doubt about the identity of Bāṇa's patron whom he glorifies in his *Harṣacarita*. Emperor Śrī Harṣa (606-645 A.D.) is credited with the authorship of three well-known plays, viz., *Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Nāgānanda*. This traditional view was contested for varying reasons in the past but is at present practically conceded by scholarly opinion. The *Priyadarśikā*, technically speaking, is a Nāṭikā but its distinction lies in the earliest known employment of the dramatic device called *Garbha-nāṭaka* in its third Act. *Garbha-nāṭaka* is a short play within a play or a dramatic Act within a dramatic Act (cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* VI.20). In the third Act of *Priy.*, queen Vāsavadattā had ordered her maids in the harem to give a performance of a dramatic piece composed by Sāmkṛtyāyanī embodying an episode about King Vatsarāja Udayana and herself (Vāsavadattā). This episode is actually enacted on the stage in the presence of the audience including queen Vāsavadattā, Sāmkṛtyāyanī and other inmates of the harem.

This *Garbha-nāṭaka* provides remarkable confirmation of a statement of Bāṇa made in the course of the description of the *Rāja-Kula* (royal palace) of Emperor Tārāpīḍa

of Ujjayinī. Although the royal palace described by Bāṇa belongs to an imaginary sovereign and the description is overloaded with richness and splendour which Bāṇa's vigorous creative imagination could provide, yet obviously it has, at its core, aspects of contemporary life and Bāṇa's close familiarity with them at the royal court. In the course of the long description of the *Rāja-Kula*, Bāṇa refers to the female establishment (*Antaḥpura*); one of the epithets used by Bāṇa to describe the harem is:

Antaḥpurikā-jana-prastuta-narapati-
carita-viḍambana-krīḍena
(Peterson's edition Part I, p. 89).

It means that the inmates of the harem in King Tārāpīḍa's palace provided entertainment in the form of imitating the actions or exploits of kings. This is exactly illustrated by the *Garbhanāṭaka* in *Priy.* III; for here the maid-servants of queen Vāsavadattā stage an incident from Vāsavadattā and Udayana's life and this is done in the precincts of the harem .

However, this coincidence will not justify the inference that Bāṇa had this episode in the *Priy.* in mind when he referred to the maids of the harem entertaining fellow-residents with dramatic performances portraying incidents from the lives of kings.

15 BHAVABHŪTI AND HIS CONTEMPORARY DETRACTORS

1. By Common Consent, Bhavabhūti is ranked next only to Kālidāsa among Sanskrit poets and dramatists. In a way, this is remarkable because Bhavabhūti's claims to recognition rest only on his three dramatic works, unlike Kālidāsa who has composed practically as many—if not more—non-dramatic as dramatic works. Like Kālidāsa's plays, Bhavabhūti's dramas contain a good deal of the poetical elements in them. In fact, one of them, the *Uttararāmacarita* (*UC*) is so full of poetical elements like descriptions that in the eyes of some critics its dramatic qualities have been smothered under their weight.[1] However, just as the *UC* is recognized as a play of unusual depth of feeling and vivid poetic imagination, so also another work of Bhavabhūti, the *Mālatīmādhava* (*MM*) has won approbation and is second only to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* among the very few extant specimens of the Prakaraṇa type of Sanskrit drama. His third work is the *Mahāvīracarita* (*MV*).

2. Unlike Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti has been rather generous in providing us with autobiographical information—information regarding his ancestors and about him-

1. cf. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (1962), p. 308.

self, which is repeated practically in the same words in the prologues of *MV* and *MM*. From this account we learn that he was a native of Padmapura in the Vidarbha country and belonged to a highly religious, learned and cultured family of Brahmins. About his personal attainments, he implies that he was well-versed in the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy;[2] his dramas bear ample testimony to the veracity of his statement. Both in *MV* and *MM* he calls himself a *Kavi*,[3] a poet who is a master of poetic expression, cf. वश्यवाचः कवेः काव्यम्;[4] and as such he well understands that learning, however wide or profound, is not the straw of which the bricks of dramatic composition are made. He asserts, "Dignity and elevation of expression accompanied by depth of meaning—these are sure indications of learning as well as aesthetic sensibility."[5] An unusual feature of this Brahmin scholar steeped in traditional learning was his apparently intimate association with actors. In *MV* Bhavabhūti publicly proclaims himself as a 'friend' of actors.[6] In *MM* the *Sūtradhāra* asserts that Bhavabhūti had offered the script of the *MM* to him for staging on account of his natural friendliness towards actors; cf. निसर्गसौहृदेन भरतेषु स्वकृतिमेवंप्रायगुणभूयसीमस्माकमर्पितवान् । This flaunting of his friendliness towards the tribe of actors is tantamount to a defiance of conventional rules of behaviour, for the profession of stage-actors has been generally considered low or degrading almost until recent times. However, this is quite in keeping with this highly sensitive soul who

2. *cf.* यद्वेदाध्ययनं तथोपनिषदां सांख्यस्य योगस्य च
ज्ञानं तत्कथनेन किं न हि ततः कश्चिद्गुणो नाटके ।
यत्प्रौढत्वमुदारता च वचसां यच्चार्थतो गौरवं
तच्चेदस्ति ततस्तदेव गमकं पाण्डित्यवैदग्ध्ययोः ॥ *MM.* I.7.
3. *cf.* भवभूतिर्नाम जातूकर्णीपुत्रः कविः etc. *MV* and *MM Prologues.*
4. *MV* I.4; also *cf.* यं ब्रह्माणमियं देवी वाग्वश्येवानुवर्तते । *UC.* I.2ab.
5. *cf.* the latter half of the stanza quoted in no. 2 above.
6. *cf.* भवभूतिर्नामजातुकर्णीपुत्रः कविर्मित्रधेयमस्माकमित्यत्रभवन्तो विदांकुर्वन्तु ।
MV Prologue.

had an acute aesthetic sensibility, who was in dead earnest about things and who saw life not through the myopic eyes of conventionality. Perhaps, with his unconventional approach, he must have felt a lonely soul in life as indeed as a dramatist he is singular in his earnestness in regard to life and its problems. Would this have excited the hostility of his contemporaries and exposed his literary work to adverse criticism?

3. Modern critical opinion generally holds that it had. Kane, for instance, says, "It appears that he had to undergo severe ordeals of criticism and ridicule from his contemporaries and only towards the latter part of his life he secured for himself a recognized niche in the temple of fame."[7] De observes, "The inference is possible that he had to struggle hard for fame and future."[8] Another statement is more specific when it asserts, "in the *Mālatimādhava*, the poet flings a defiant challenge to the world and appeals to some kindred spirit, yet unborn, for proper reception of his work."[9] All these and similar opinions are based on the following verse in *MM* which has gained great popular currency:

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥ I.6

and secondarily, perhaps, on the statement in *UC* I.5:

सर्वथा व्यवहर्तव्यं कुतो ह्यवचनीयता ।
यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः ॥

4. As far as the commentators of *MM* are concerned, their comments and explanations of the first half of this

7. *Uttararāmacarita* (1929), Introd. p. XI.
8. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I (1947), p. 279.
9. Devdhar and Suru, *Mālatīmādhava* (1935), Introd. p. 11.

stanza smack of theoretical scholarship rather than history and therefore are hardly helpful in our present investigation. Both Tripurāri and Jagaddhara preface their explanation with the statement that Bhavabhūti shows his pride and self-esteem for his poetic abilities[10] in this stanza: Tripurāri explains नाम in two senses (i) प्रसिद्धौ and (ii) किलार्थे. So does Jagaddhara, too, by understanding the word as (i) संभावनायाम् and (ii) निश्चये. And both proceed to interpret the first two lines practically in the same way. Both asert that Bhavabhūti steers clear of the contempt or disregard which might be shown by ignorant critics as well as by superior philosophical masters: he sneers at the incompetence of the ignoramuses for whom "this effort of mine is not meant;" and he pays his respects to those who have realized the highest knowledge and says, "this effort of mine is not meant" for them either,[11] for their disdain for my dramatic work arises from their superior wisdom.

5. Now, let us proceed with the work of evaluating the evidence in regard to the problem under investigation. The one indisputable fact that stands out sharply before our eyes is that, apart from this particular stanza in the *MM*, there is no evidence whatever of any adverse remarks passed by any contemporary on Bhavabhūti's *MM*. Besides, there is not a single *connoisseur* or critic of any era who is known to have held a poor opinion of *MM* or Bhavabhūti's dramatic works in general.[12] On the other hand,

10. *cf.* अत्र प्रमुखे विनयप्रदर्शनं कवित्वगर्वोद्धत्यप्रकटनं च । —Tripurāri; and संप्रति स्वकौशलबलेन सगर्वमाह ।—Jagaddhara.

11. *cf.* नामेति प्रसिद्धौ । मदपेक्षयापि प्रसिद्धा ये केचिन्महात्मानस्ते हि....किमपि रहस्यमुपनिषदेकगम्यं वस्तु जानन्त इति युक्तैव तेषामस्माकं स्वविद्यापरतन्त्रेष्ववज्ञा । अथवा नामेति किलार्थ । य केचिद् यादृशास्तादृशा नोऽवज्ञां किल प्रथयन्ति स्वमहिम्ना जगत्सर्वमभिभवतामस्माकमपि ।...ते किं जानन्ति । न किमपीत्यर्थः ।

Jagaddhara, too, in the same strain.

12. It would be interesting to speculate about the reason for the curious absence of any reference to Bhavabhūti's works by Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka* and, perhaps, also for the lack of interest in Bhavabhūti displayed by Jayadeva in his metaphorical decoration of the Poetic Muse by employing the names of various illustrious poets and dramatists in *Prasannarāghava*, I.

Vāmana who flourished within about a century after Bhavabhūti cites verses from the latter, albeit anonymously.[13] Rājaśekhara who lived about two centuries later considers Bhavabhūti as an incarnation of Vālmīki and himself as a later reincarnation of the same distinguished personage![14] This is high praise, indeed, for Bhavabhūti, coming as it does from a successor like Rājaśekhara, who revels in the belief that he was Bhavabhūti reborn. Bhavabhūti had cherished the hope that some like-minded soul would arise to appreciate his work some time somewhere in the world. This faith of his in the good sense of posterity has been vindicated with a quickness beyond his expectation and in a manner beyond his fondest hopes.

6. Modern scholars who believe that Bhavabhūti had to face adverse criticism from his contemporaries concede that he did achieve fame and status in his own life-time. One reason for hostile criticism of his dramas is supposed to be that "perhaps, that was not the age for the drama."[15] The hollowness of this explanation stands clearly exposed when it is recalled that just a little earlier before Bhavabhūti's days, Śrī Harṣa of Kanouj had deemed it worthwhile to compose two dainty little plays (Nāṭikās) as well as a third play with a high and serious purpose; that despite his preoccupation with prose narratives, Bāṇa had probably tried his hand at the dramatic form;[16] that Mahendravikrama-varman, a contemporary of Bāṇa and Śrī Harṣa, essayed the composition of a lively satirical play, the *Mattavilāsa* and that Yaśovarman, king of Kanouj, and

13. Vāmana, *Kāvyā.* I.2.12=*MV*.I.5.4, and IV.3.6=*UC*.I.38.

14. *cf.* बभूव वल्मीकभवः कविः पुरा ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्ठताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते संप्रति राजशेखरः ॥
—*Bālarāmāyaṇa* I.16.

15. *cf.* M. R. Kale, *Mālatīmādhava* (1928), Introd. p. 7.

16. The *Pārvatī-pariṇaya* is no longer held to be a work of Bāṇa, who is still credited with the authorship of the *Mukuṭa-tāḍitaka*, a drama dealing with an episode from the *Mahābhārata*, *cf.* De, HSL, Vol. I, p. 298 f.

a contemporary of Bhavabhūti himself, was the author of *Rāmābhyudaya*, a play in six acts. In view of these facts, it is impossible to concede that drama 'had got into disfavour' in Bhavabhūti's time or that it was not an age for drama.

7. Another possible reason for adverse criticism from his contemporaries was anticipated and adequately answered by Bhavabhūti himself. High-brow Pundits devoted to Śāstric learning, as distinguished from *belles lettres*, would be sure to frown upon one of their own kind wasting his talents on unworthy pursuits like dramatic composition. Here it should be recalled that *MV*, which is practically unanimously considered to be the first dramatic composition of Bhavabhūti makes no reference whatever to any possible criticism of his work. The *MV* deals with a respectable theme—सा च रामाश्रया कथा। as the author himself has stated; and, for aught we know, Bhavabhūti must have been eulogized for dramatizing the Rāma-story. It is principally in the *MM* that he envisages the possibility of disparagement of his work by his contemporaries. That Bhavabhūti had an unerring insight into the essentials of literary works, especially drama, is patent from what he promises in the *MV*:

महापुरुषसंरम्भो यत्र गम्भीरघोषणः।
प्रसन्नकर्कशा यत्र विपुलार्था च भारती॥
अप्राकृतेषु पात्रेषु यत्र वीरः स्थितो रसः।
भेदैः सूक्ष्मैरभिव्यक्तैः प्रत्याधारं विभज्यते॥ I. 2-3.

In *MM*, too, he asserts that he has essayed abundant and profound delineation of sentiments[17] and in general guarantees dignity and elevation of expression accompanied by depth of meaning in that play. These, indeed, are

17. *cf.* मग्ना रसानां गहनाः प्रयोगाः सौहार्दहृद्यानि विचेष्टितानि।
औद्धत्यमायोजितकामतं चित्राः स कथाः वाचि विदग्धता च॥ I. 4.

norms of assessment of literary works accepted universally. And Bhavabhūti who made bold to help his learned contemporaries to set their sights right while judging dramatic, or for that matter any literary work, stands thoroughly vindicated by posterity.

8. However, this general defence in anticipation is hardly sufficient to account for the vehemence with which Bhavabhūti hurls defiance at his contemporaries and looks to future generations for vindication of his work. There must be some definite reason, something very likely to hurt his egotism, which compelled him to speak in strident terms of defiance. In order to discover this, we shall have to turn to the historical perspective of Bhavabhūti's life and works.

9. As stated earlier, Bhavabhūti was a resident of Padmapura in the Vidarbha territory and appears to have migrated to Ujjayini. For, all his three plays are presented before an audience which had assembled on the occasion of a pilgrimage of Kālapriyanātha which is generally identified with the shrine of Mahākāla at Ujjain; cf. सूत्रधारः–अद्य खलु भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य यात्रायामार्यमिश्राः समादिशन्ति। (*MV*. prologue).[18] It is possible that from Ujjain, Bhavabhūti, proceeded to Kanouj where he gained royal patronage. For, Kalhaṇa, in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, describes the Kashmirian king Lalitāditya as having defeated Yaśovarman, king of Kanouj; cf.

कविवाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिबन्दिताम्॥ 4. 144.

Our interest in this stanza at present lies in Kalhaṇa's statement in the first half that Bhavabhūti enjoyed the patronage of Yaśovarman of Kanouj. Some scholars are reluctant to believe in Kalhaṇa's statement. Keith, for in-

18. Also *cf.* the *Prologues* of *MM* and *UC*.

stance, says, "From the silence in his dramas of any good luck, it is strange to find that Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* expressly asserted that he was a member of the *entourage* of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja."[19] De agrees with Keith when he declares, "In view of all this, it is surprising to find that the Kashmirian chronicler Kalhaṇa mentions Bhavabhūti, along with Vākpatirāja, as having been patronized by king Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja."[20] There is, on the other hand, an equally weighty body of scholarly opinion which accepts the veracity of Kalhaṇa's statement and believes that Bhavabhūti enjoyed Yaśovarman's patronage. Macdonell says, "His patron was king Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja (Kanouj) who ruled during the first half of the eighth century."[21] Bhandarkar,[22] Kane,[23] Belvalkar[24] and many others accept Kalhaṇa's statement as dependable.

10. The unwillingness of Keith and De to believe that Bhavabhūti was patronized by Yaśovarman is based on the fact that there is 'a silence in his dramas of any good luck', as Keith says, or because 'he does not refer to any royal favour', as De puts it. De, however, concedes that Bhavabhūti "shows familiarity with court-life."[25] On the strength of the same evidence, Todar Mall declares, "The fact that all his extant dramas very faithfully depict court-life leads us to the inevitable conclusion that he was a courtier."[26] Now, while judging between these two contrary views, it is necessary to bear in mind that *argumentum ex silentio* is always to be treated with reserve. If, as Keith asserts, there is silence in Bhavabhūti's plays

19. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 186.
20. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 279.
21. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1962), p. 307.
22. *Mālatīmādhava* (1876), Introd., p. X.
23. *Uttararāmacarita* (1921), Introd., p. V.
24. *The Later History of Rāma*, HOS, Vol. 21, Introd., p. xliv.
25. HSL, Vol. I, p. 279.
26. *Mahāvīracaritam* (1928), Introd., p. xxiv.

about 'any good luck', it can be said in reply with equal cogency that there is silence in his dramas about ill luck, too! Any reliance on the evidence of the stanza ये नाम etc. (*MM* 1.6) in this behalf would be unwarranted because that verse at best refers to the literary fortunes of Bhavabhūti and not to his worldly affairs; and even this reference to literary fortunes forms the subject-matter of the present investigation. Apart from this stanza, there is nothing in the plays of Bhavabhūti to permit any inference about his having had to struggle for fortune. As a matter of fact, all the three plays, more especially the two Rāma plays,[27] reveal a familiarity with the niceties of court etiquette which would be impossible in one who had not lived at court. On the evidence before us, Todar Mall's conclusion that Bhavabhūti must have been a 'courtier' is more worthy of acceptance than De's.

11. Another point worthy of note in this connection is the confidence and sense of esteem bordering on pride with which Bhavabhūti describes his ancestors and their achievements. The spirit of exultation that breathes in his autobiographical account precludes the inference that Bhavabhūti had suffered in his worldly fortunes and that he had to struggle for survival.

12. However, Kalhaṇa's statement gains support from Vākpatirāja himself, whom Kalhaṇa has bracketed with Bhavabhūti as a *protége* of Yaśovarman. This Vākpatirāja, is unanimously identified by scholars with Vākpatirāja, the author of the well-known Prakrit poem *Gauḍavaho*, which is a eulogy of king Yaśovarman, the author's patron. Vākpatirāja makes a handsome acknowledgement of his in-

27. *cf.* कञ्चुकी—राममद्र—(इत्यर्धोक्ते साशंकम्) महाराज—
रामः—(सस्मितम्) आर्य ननु राममद्र इत्येव मां प्रत्युपचारः शोभते तातपरिजनस्य। तद्यथाभ्यस्तमभिधीयताम्।
कञ्चुकी—देव ऋष्यशृंगाश्रमादष्टावक्रः संप्राप्तः।—*UC.I.*

debtedness in literary composition to the inspiration of Bhavabhūti. He says:

भवभूइजलहिनिग्गयकव्वामयरसकणा इव फुरन्ति ।
जस्स विसेसा अज्जवि वियडेसु कहाणिवेसेसु ॥ -799

In view of the conditions prevailing in those ancient days and the probable date of Bhavabhūti which can be postulated on other grounds, it would be reasonable to believe that Bhavabhūti must have been a senior contemporary of Vākpatirāja and that the latter must have had ample opportunities to enjoy the company of the former to enable him to benefit from his inspiration. All this would be easily possible if, as Kalhaṇa says, Bhavabhūti, like Vākpatirāja, enjoyed the patronage of Yaśovarman of Kanouj. Vākpatirāja's acknowledgement of his debt to Bhavabhūti's inspiration would go to show that the statement of Kalhaṇa that Bhavabhūti was patronized by Yaśovarman is not a figment of imagination.

13. If, then, Bhavabhūti enjoyed the patronage of Yaśovarman of Kanouj, he would naturally have to establish and maintain his literary reputation among the learned scholars there. As already noted above, the *MV.* does not refer to any possibility of adverse criticism because the respectability of the theme would not only shield him from hostile criticism but would in all probability command approval from his learned contemporaries. It is mainly, if not merely, in the *MM* that Bhavabhūti is apprehensive of disparagement or disapprobation. What made him apprehensive in this manner?

14. Let us recall at this stage that Bhavabhūti lived about the beginning of the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. His literary career therefore lay within an interval of some fifty years at the outside of Bāṇa who had enjoyed the patronage of Śrī Harṣa of Sthāṇvīśvara and

Kanouj. This margin of time will be still shorter if we take into account the fact that Bāṇa was a young man when he first met the emperor Harṣa who appears to have been in the fulness of his Imperial power.[28] The fact that Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti both worked out their literary fortunes under royal patronage at one and the same place within a span of a few decades of each other has a vital bearing on the problem under consideration. In offering *MM* to the *connoisseurs* of Kanouj, Bhavabhūti was offering a literary composition which in content as well as expression was strongly reminiscent of the *magnum opus*—the *Kādambari*—of the illustrious Bāṇa which they must have enjoyed and appreciated. For, Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, for all their difference in form, have much in common in certain respects. Bhavabhūti is apparently indebted to Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkatha* as can be observed from its version in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[29] However, apart from the skeleton of the story material, *MM* has little that it owes to Guṇāḍhya's work. In its literary aspects, *MM* is strongly evocative of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. Bhavabhūti, a highly self-conscious and sensitive soul that he was, naturally anticipated that there would possibly (*nāma*) be some persons who would show contempt or disparagement (*Avajñā*) for this work (*iha*) because they would declare that *MM* in many places bore close resemblance to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and hence had little originality. In the van of these hostile critics there was, in all probability, Bāṇa's own son who, as we know, did not shine in reflected glory but possessed literary talents which enabled him to complete the unfinished work of his illustrious father. Bāṇa's son, Pulinda or

28. *cf.* De HSL, Vol. I, p. 226 n.
29. *cf.* Kale's edition of *MM* (1928) for a summary of the story of Madirāvatī (in KSS xiii) on which Bhavabhūti has probably drawn.

whatever be his name, must have been a senior contemporary of Bhavabhūti and would be standing guard in Kanouj over the glory of his father's literary bequest. Bhavabhūti asserts that these detractors 'know something' (जानन्ति ते किमपि) and that the *Mālatīmādhava* was not meant for them (तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः). Bhavabhūti appears here to imply that there is similarity between the *Kādambarī* and the *MM* but there is difference as well. One obvious difference is the fact that the *MM* is a drama to be staged, which the *Kādambarī* is not. He is too conscious of the correctness of his approach to literary work and perhaps the element of originality in his work to surrender to narrow conventional and even partisan criticism. In the second half of the stanza he not only looks to posterity—to some kindred soul yet unborn—for proper and just evaluation of his play but is confident that even in his own days there may be (अस्ति) literary critics elsewhere who might belaud his work; for Kanouj was not the whole world! The word अस्ति in the line उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा। now assumes pointed significance and it is as important as उत्पत्स्यते from Bhavabhūti's point of view. These two lines would yield a better meaning if their statements are understood on the basis of respectivity. Thus: 'Some kindred soul will be born ...for time is endless (उत्पत्स्यते मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा कालोह्ययं निरवधिः।); why, there may be even today some kindred soul....for the earth is wide (अस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा .. विपुला च पृथ्वी।).

15. Now, we shall turn to an examination of the nature and extent of similarity between the *Kādambarī* and the *Mālatīmādhava*. As stated earlier, *MM* is indebted to *Kathāsaritsāgara—Lambaka* XIII called Madirāvatī-lambaka for its theme and most of its incidents. *MM* is an erotic play—a play delineating the love of the youthful hero Mādhava and the heroine Mālatī from its beginning

to final union in marriage after passing through various trials and tribulations. There is also the secondary thread of the love between Mādhava's friend Makaranda and his sweetheart Madayantikā running parallel to the main theme. It is obvious that any similarity between the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Kādambarī* can lie only in passages of similar import in the latter. In other words, the range of similarity in the *Kādambarī* will be between the point at which Prince Candrāpīḍa meets Mahāśvetā in the temple on the edge of the Acchoda lake and the point at which, some time after his return to his father's capital, he receives his personal attendant Patralekhā who had stayed on with Kādambarī a little longer *i.e.*, upto the end of Bāṇa's own composition.

16. Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the delineation of love between a young man and a young girl is bound on the whole to have some broad common features in all works and follow a broadly common pattern. Similarities and parallellisms of situation or emotional reaction would be, broadly speaking, unavoidable.[30]

17. At this stage, I should like to draw your attention to the following passage in the first Act of *MM*. wherein Makaranda who has gone to the Madana-garden in search of his friend Mādhava finds the latter slightly different from his usual self after his visit to the festival in honour of the God of Love where he had happened to see Mālatī:

मकरन्दः—वयस्य माधव अद्य किल सकलनगराङ्गनाजनप्रवर्तितमहोत्सवाभिराम-कामदेवोद्यानयात्राप्रतिनिवृत्तमन्यादृशं भवन्तमवधारयामि। अपि नाम मनागवतीर्णोऽसि रतिरमणबाणगोचरम्।

(माधवः सलज्जमधोमुखस्तिष्ठति।)

30. *cf.* संवादास्तु भवन्त्येव etc. *Dhvanyāloka*, IV.11.

मकरन्दः –(विहस्य) तत्किमवनतमुग्धमुखपुण्डरीकः स्थितोऽसि। पश्य—

अन्येषु जन्तुषु रजस्तमसावृतेषु
विश्वस्य धातरि समः परमेश्वरे च।
सोऽयं प्रसिद्धविभवः खलु चित्तजन्मा
मा लज्जया तव कथंचिदपह्नुतिर्भूत् ॥ I.20

Now, Students of Bhavabhūti are aware of his tendency to employ *double entendre* with whose help he tries to refer to some characteristic quality of his own work which he wants the audience to appreciate. A well-known case of this kind is the following speech of Tamasā in the *UC*:

तमसा–अहो संविधानकम्।

एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदा-
द्भिन्नः पृथक्पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान्।
आवर्तबुद्बुदतरङ्गमयान्विकारा-
नम्भो यथा सलिलमेव तु तत्समग्रम् ॥

It is accepted by all that Bhavabhūti is here praising the plot-construction as well as the portrayal of the *karuṇa* sentiment in its various facets in the play. Likewise, in the last Act of the *MM* when everything is taking a happy turn, Kāmandakī says: अस्ति वा कुतश्चिदेवंभूतमद्भुतं विचित्ररमणीयोज्ज्वलं प्रकरणम्। Quite obviously, through this speech of Kāmandakī, Bhavabhūti expresses his own view that this Prakaraṇa, *i.e.*, *MM* is a bright and lovely social comedy better than any other of its kind. It would not be surprising, therefore, if Bhavabhūti employed the same device—of *double entendre* to defend himself against accusations of borrowing from Bāṇa. Interpreted in this light, Makaranda poses the question whether Bhavabhūti 'had trespassed on the territory' of Bāṇa who revels—and excels—in the delineation of the erotic sentiment: अपि नाम मनागवतीर्णोऽसि रतिरमण–बाण–गोचरम्?[31] Note the choice of the words रतिरमण (रतौ शृङ्गारनिरूपणे रमणं यस्य) and बाण. In *MM*

31. This interpretation would provide some significance to Jayadeva's statement: पञ्चबाणस्तु बाणः which otherwise remains an idle exercise in alliteration.

Bhavabhūti's indebtedness can be only to रतिरमण बाण, and not to विन्ध्याटवी–रमण or राजकुलरमण or प्रकृतिरमण बाण. Bhavabhūti is conscious of the similarity between *MM* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and, like Mādhava in the play, implies a confession of his 'guilt.' However, he puts up a defence through the mouth of Makaranda and reassures himself as well as his readers or spectators that, for one thing, love was a common theme and its treatment was bound to be similar (*sama*) in its broad features and even rich variety (*prasiddha-vibhava*) regardless of the ability or status of the author who may be a very ordinary poet (*anyeṣu jantuṣu*) or a master of creative art (*viśvasya dhātari parameśvare*), like Bāṇa; there was no need for him therefore to feel ashamed and hide his drama—*MM*—from *connoisseurs* (*mā lajjayā tava kathaṁcid apahnutir bhūt*). The choice and juxtaposition of the two words रतिरमण and बाण are noteworthy and appear to be deliberate; for, although Bhavabhūti has ample opportunities to mention Kāma in the *Mālatīmādhava*, yet he has not even once repeated the word रतिरमण to signify the God of love or the feeling of love. This passage with its *double entendre* which is characteristic of Bhavabhūti would support the view that the stanza ये नाम केचिद् etc. (*MM*. 16) is directed at the critics who were protagonists of Bāṇa from whom he apprehended hostile criticism: it would also provide strong corroboration for the interpretation of the latter half of the verse proposed earlier in the present investigation.

18. Lastly, the difference in literary form would impose vital restrictions on a dramatic composition in comparison with a non-dramatic work. The *Kādambarī* is a prose narrative and as such imposes no restriction on Bāṇa's exercise of imagination or indulgence in description in both of which, as a matter of fact, he has revelled. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* is a drama to be staged: any indis-

criminate emulation of Bāṇa's *minutiae* or expansiveness would spell disaster from a literary point of view.

19. Bearing these observations in mind, we shall proceed to notice the passages in the *Mālatīmādhava* which bear resemblance to those in the *Kādambarī*:—

(i) गमनमलसं शून्या दृष्टिः शरीरमसौष्ठवं
श्वसितमधिकं किं न्वेतत्स्यात्किमन्यदितोऽथवा।
भ्रमति भुवने कन्दर्पाज्ञा विकारि च यौवनं
ललितमधुरास्ते ते भावाः क्षिपन्ति च धीरताम् ॥ *MM.* I. 17

अथ कृतप्रणामायां मयि दुर्लङ्घ्यशासनतया भगवतो मनोभुवः...अविनयबहुलतया चाभिनवयौवनस्य, चञ्चलप्रकृतितया चेन्द्रियाणाम्,...तमपि मद्विकारदर्शनापहृतधैर्यं प्रदीपमिव पवनस्तरलतामनयदनङ्गः। तदा तस्याप्यभिनवागतं मदनं प्रत्युद्गच्छन्निव रोमोद्गमः प्रादुरभवत्। मत्सकाशमभिप्रस्थितस्य मनसो मार्गमिवोपदिशद्भिः पुरः प्रवृत्तं श्वासैः।...मदमुकुलितेव, खेदालसेव निद्राजडेव ...दृष्टिः। *Kād*—P. 18f.

(Page references are to P. V. Kane's edn. of 1914).

In this stanza from *MM*, Makaranda describes the unusual condition of Mādhava which, he conjectures, is indicative of the feeling of love. In the *Kād.* passage, Mahāśvetā describes in rich detail how Puṇḍarīka came under the influence of love on seeing her and betrayed his love-stricken condition. Bhavabhūti's stanza appears like a condensation of the rich and vivid description given by Bāṇa.

(ii) In *MM* Act I Makaranda meets Mādhava and remarks that he had undergone a change after his visit to the shrine of Kāma. He then describes the all-pervading influence of love in I.20.

अन्येषु जन्तुषु रजस्तमसावृतेषु
विश्वस्य धातरि समः परमेश्वरे च।
सोऽयं प्रसिद्धविभवः खलु चित्तजन्मा
मा लज्जया तव कथंचिदपह्नुतिर्भूत् ॥

This situation and the description of the overpowering influence of love have a close parallel in Kapiñjala noticing the love-stricken condition of his friend Puṇḍarīka and, in the course of his admonition, ultimately recognizing the all-pervasive influence of love:

नास्ति खल्वसाध्यं नाम भगवतो मनोभुवः..सर्वथा न हि किञ्चिदस्य दुर्घटं दुष्करमनायत्तमकर्तव्यं वा जगति।...का वा गणना सचेतनेषु। अपगतचेतनान्यपि संघटयितुमलं यद्यस्मै रोचते। (p. 33)

We may also notice here Patralekhā's statement to the same effect:

न च तद्भूतमेतावति त्रिभुवनेऽस्य शरशरव्यतां यन्न यातं याति यास्यति वा। p. 105

(iii) अत्रान्तरे किमपि वाग्विभवातिवृत्त-
वैचित्र्यमुल्लसितविभ्रममुत्पलाक्ष्याः।
तद्भूरिसात्त्विककविकारमपास्तधैर्य-
माचार्यकं विजयि मान्मथमाविरासीत् ॥ *MM* I. 26

This may be compared with:

अनेकसुरतसमागमलास्यलोलोपदेशोपाध्यायो मकरकेतुरेव विलासानुपदिशति।—*Kād.* p. 19.

(iv) In the following two verses Mādhava describes the 'indescribable' condition to which he has been reduced by his love for Mālatī:

परिच्छेदातीतः सकलवचनानामविषयः
पुनर्जन्मन्यस्मिन्ननुभवपथं यो न गतवान्।
विवेकप्रध्वंसादुपचितमहामोहगहनो
विकारः कोऽप्यन्तर्जडयति च तापं च कुरुते ॥

अपि च।

परिच्छेदव्यक्तिर्न भवति पुरःस्थेऽपि विषये
भवत्यभ्यस्तेऽपि स्मरणमतथाभावविरसम्।
न संतापच्छेदो हिमसरसि वा चन्द्रमसि वा
मनो निष्ठाशून्यं भ्रमति च किमप्यालिखति च ॥ *MM* I. 30-31.

In the *Kād.* Mahāśvetā describes her own condition after her meeting with Puṇḍarīka and falling in love with him at first sight:

गत्वा च प्रविश्य कन्यान्तःपुरं ततः प्रभृति तद्विरहविधुरा किमागतास्मि, किं तत्रैव स्थितास्मि, किमेकाकिन्यस्मि, किं परिवृतास्मि, किं तूष्णीमस्मि, किं प्रस्तुतालापास्मि, किं जागर्मि, किं सुप्तास्मि, किं रोदिमि, किं न रोदिमि, किं दुःखमिदम्, किं सुखमिदम्, किमुत्कण्ठेयम्, किं व्याधिरयम्, किं व्यसनमिदम्, किमुत्सवोऽयम्, किं दिवस एषः, किं निशेयम्, कानि रम्याणि, कान्यरम्याणीति सर्वं नावागच्छम्। अविज्ञातमदनवृत्तान्ता च क्व गच्छामि किं करोमि किं शृणोमि किं पश्यामि किमालपामि कस्य कथयामि कोऽस्य प्रतीकारः इति सर्वं च नाज्ञासिषम्। *Kād.* p. 22f.

(v) Mādhava (first speech after I.32) reports to Makaranda the equivocal speech of Lavaṅgikā in regard to the Bakula-garland:

सखे श्रूयताम्। अथ तस्याः सखी कदम्बकादन्यतमा वारयोषिद्...कुसुमापीडव्याजेन मामेवमुक्तवती—'महाभाग सुश्लिष्टगुणतया रमणीय एष वः सुमनसां संनिवेशः। कुतूहलिनी च नो भर्तृदारिकास्मिन्वर्तते। तस्या अभिनवो विचित्रः कुसुमेषु व्यापारः। तद् भवतु कृतार्थता वैदग्ध्यस्य फलतु निर्माणरमणीयता विधातुः समासादयतु सरस एष भर्तृदारिकायाः कण्ठावलम्बनमहार्घताम्' इति।

The vital word in this speech is कुसुमेषु-व्यापारः which is the hinge on which the equivoque turns. This cleverly contrived collocation of words, however, is obviously inspired by Guṇāḍhya to whom Bhavabhūti, as observed above, owes the theme of *MM* because *Kathāsaritsāgara* uses practically the same expression.

cf. मामेत्य मदिरावत्या धात्रेयी प्रणतावदत्॥ ४१॥
भर्तृदारिकयास्माकमुद्याने भर्तृदारक।
विवृद्धिं मदिरावत्या नीता या मालतीलता॥ ४२॥
नूतनो वर्तते तस्याः खलु पुष्पभरोद्गमः।
मधुसंगमसानन्दविलासहसितोज्ज्वलः॥ ४३॥
विहस्य पतितांस्तस्याः कुसुमेषु शिलीमुखान्।
मुकुलान्युच्चितान्यद्य भर्तृदारिकया स्वयम्॥ ४४॥
मौक्तिकैरिव तैरेषा विधायैकावली तया।
प्रहिता ते नवं वस्तु पूर्वं प्रेष्ठाय दीयते॥४५॥ *KSS.* XIII

Taking his cue from Guṇāḍhya whom *KSS* is only reproducing here, Bhavabhūti has enlarged the area of equivocation by the use of words like गुण and सुमनस्.

In the *Kād.* Candrāpīḍa pays a visit to Kādambarī who was suffering from lovesickness and enquires about her health in an equivocal manner:

'देवि, जानामि कामरतिं निमित्तीकृत्य प्रवृत्तोऽयमविचलसंतापतन्त्रो व्याधिः। सुतनु सत्यं न तथा त्वामेष व्यथयति यथास्मान्। इच्छामि देहदानेनापि स्वस्थामत्रभवतीं कर्तुम्। उत्कम्पिनीमनुकम्पमानस्य कुसुमेषु पीडया पतितामवेक्षमाणस्य पततीव मे हृदयम्। अनङ्गदे तनुभूते ते भुजलते। गाढसंतापतया च दृष्टया वहसि स्थलकमलिनीमिव रक्ततामरसाम्। दुःखितायां च त्वयि परिजनेऽपि चानवरतकृताश्रुबिन्दुपातेन वर्तते मुक्ताभरणता। गृहाण स्वयं वरार्हाणि मङ्गलप्रसाधनानि। सुकुसुमशिलीमुखा हि शोभते नवा लता इति॥— *Kād.* p. 90

It is manifest that apart from the idea of sustaining the equivoque, which he must have got from Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti is not indebted here to Bāṇa in the details of this equivocal speech. It is clear, however, that his attempt at equivocation appears tame in comparison with the magnificence of Bāṇa's. And he must have been damned with feigned praise by lovers of the *Kādambarī*!

(vi) In *MM*, Act II is preceded by a *Praveśaka* in which two maid-servants are exchanging information with each other regarding the affair between their master's daughter Mālatī and Mādhava:

प्रथमा—हला, लवङ्गिका खलु केसरकुसुमान्यवचिनोमीति मदनोद्यानादेव नागता तत् किं सांप्रतं संप्राप्ता।

द्वितीया—अथ किम्। तां खलु परावर्तमानामेव हस्ते गृहीत्वा प्रतिषिद्धपरिजना भर्तृदारिकोपर्यलिन्दं समारूढा।

प्रथमा—नूनं तस्य महानुभावस्य संकथयात्मानं विनोदयति॥

Like Mālatī taking Lavaṅgikā to the upper terrace, forbidding the servants from entering there and eagerly entertaining herself with information about Mādhava, Mahāś-

vetā, too, receives her personal attendant Taralikā on the upper story of Kumārīpura Palace from where everyone was sent away and eagerly listens to Taralikā's story and is anxious to know more about Puṇḍarīka:

केवलमारुह्य कुमारीपुरप्रासादं विसर्ज्य च सखीजनं द्वारि निवारिताशेषपरिजनप्रवेशा...अतिष्ठम्। ...सा (तरलिका) च पश्चाच्चिरादिवागत्य तथावस्थितां शनैर्मामवादीत्।...तां च द्वितीयदर्शनेन कृतमहापुण्यामिवानुभूतसुरलोकवासामिव...मन्यमाना...विपरीतमिव परिजनस्वामिसंबन्धमुपदर्शयन्ती, 'तरलिके कथय कथं स त्वया दृष्टः, किं किमभिहितासि तेन, कियन्तं कालमवस्थितासि तत्र, कियदनुसरन्नस्मानसावागतः' इति पुनः पुनः पर्यपृच्छम्॥ *Kād.* pp. 23, 25.

(vii) (a) In *MM* Act I Mādhava says to himself with a sense of wonder:

पश्यामि तामित इतः पुरतश्च पश्चा-
दन्तर्बहिः परित एव विवर्तमानाम्। St. 40 ab.

Compare this with Candrāpīḍa who mounts his horse and is on the point of leaving Kādambarī's residence.

गच्छतश्चास्य चित्ररथतनया न केवलमन्तर्बहिरपि सैव सर्वाशानिबन्धनमासीत्। तथा हि। तन्मयेन मानसेनासह्यविरहदुःखानुशयलग्नामिव पृष्ठतः, कृतमार्गगमनविरोधामिव पुरस्तात्, वियोगाकुलहृदयोत्कलिकावेशोत्क्षिप्तामिव नभसि, सम्यगालोकयितुं वदनं विरहातुरमानसामिवावस्थितामुरःस्थले, तामेव ददर्श। *Kād.* p. 81.

(b) He then complains to his friend Makaranda:

वयस्य मम हि संप्रति

प्रसरति परिमाथी कोऽप्ययं देहदाह-
स्तिरयति करणानां ग्राहकत्वं प्रमोहः।
रणरणकविवृद्धिं बिभ्रदावर्तमानं
ज्वलति हृदयमन्तस्तन्मयत्वं च धत्ते॥ I.41.

Compare Puṇḍarīka's description of his agony before Kapiñjala ending with:

'पच्यन्त इव मेऽङ्गानि। उत्क्वथ्यत इव हृदयम्। प्लुष्यत इव दृष्टिः। ज्वलतीव शरीरम्। अत्र यत् प्राप्तकालं तत्करोतु भवान्' इति।—*Kād.* p. 31.

(viii) Compare

लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव लिखितेवोत्कीर्णरूपेव सा
प्रत्युप्तेव च वज्रलेपघटितेवान्तर्निखातेव च।
सा नश्चेतसि कीलितेव विशिखैश्चेतोभुवः पञ्चभि-
श्चिन्तासंततितन्तुजालनिबिडस्यूतेव लग्ना प्रिया॥ *MM.* V.10

with स्तम्भितेव लिखितेव उत्कीर्णेव संयतेव मूर्छितेव केनापि विधृतेव...न जानामि कथं कथमिति तमतिचिरं व्यलोकयम्॥ *Kād.* p. 17.

Despite the difference in situation, the basic amorous conception and expression are similar.

(ix) In *MM* Act II Mālatī who is love-stricken is introduced confabulating with her friend Lavaṅgikā in regard to Mādhava who, as Lavaṅgikā says, had been looking with longing eyes at Mālatī in the garden. Then, the scene proceeds:

मालती—(लवङ्गिकां परिष्वज्य) आम्। प्रियसखि, किं तावत्तस्य महानुभावस्य स्वाभाविका एव ते मुहूर्तसंनिधायिनो जनस्य विप्रलम्भयितृका विलासा आहोस्विद्यथा प्रियसखी संभावयति।

In *Kad.*, Candrāpīḍa, after his visit to Kādambarī in whom he had noticed strikingly graceful behaviour, returns to his room and, lying down on a mattress, indulges in a chain of thought:

किं तावदस्या गन्धर्वराजदुहितुः कादम्बर्याः सहभुव एते विलासा एवेदृशाः सकललोकहृदयहारिणः। आहोस्विदनाराधितप्रसन्नेन भगवता मकरकेतुना मयि नियुक्ताः। p. 71.

(x) In *MM* Act VII Buddharakṣitā and Lavaṅgikā manage to make Mādayantikā speak out and she confesses to an ardent longing for Makaranda. In the course of her confession, she describes how, in her dreams, Makaranda forcibly embraces her, kisses her and harrasses her with amorous aggressiveness:

संकल्पस्वप्नान्तरेषु च मनोरथोन्मादमोहिता प्रेक्षे तं जनम्। सोऽपि, प्रियसखि, मुहूर्तनिर्व्यूढविस्मयविसंष्ठुलोद्वेल्लविस्तीर्यमाणललितनेत्रपुण्डरीकताण्डवोद्भटप्ररूढमैरे-

यमदघूर्णितमिव चिरं निर्ध्यायति माम्। किं च कवलितारविन्दकेसरकषायकण्ठ-कलहंसघोषघर्घरस्खलितगम्भीरभारतीभरितकर्णविवरं प्रिये मदयन्तिके इति मां व्याहरति।...द्विगुणबाहुदण्डावेष्टननियन्त्रितां प्रियसखि ... सावेगविधुतमस्त-काविद्धकबरीनिहितकरपरिग्रहपुञ्जीकृतोन्नमितनिश्चलमुखावयवस्वच्छन्दविकासविदग्ध वदनकमलो वामगण्डमूलचिरनिहितप्रस्फुरत्पुञ्जिताधरसमुद्गतमनोहरस्पर्शनिर्भरोद्घ-र्षितशरीरशोभां..किमपि दुर्विनयसाहसानुरूपव्यवसायो मामनभ्यर्थनीयमभ्यर्थयति॥

In *Kad.*, Kādambarī, too, confesses her love for Candrāpīḍa before Patralekhā in a similar manner:

'...स्वप्नेषु प्रतिदिवसमागत्यागत्य मे रहस्यसंदेशेषु निपुणधूर्तः पञ्जरशुक-सारिका दूतीः करोति।...निजानुरागेणेव बलादरञ्जयदलक्तकरसेनेव चरणौ। ...उपवनेष्वेकाकिन्या ग्रहणभयपलायमानायाः पल्लवलग्नांशुकदशाप्रतिहतगमनाया गृहीत्वेव सखीभिरर्पिताया मिथ्याप्रगल्भः पराङ्मुखायाः परिष्वङ्गमाचरति।... वल्लभतरबालबकुलसेककालकवलीकृतान् सुरागण्डूषान्सकचग्रहमसकृद्धृष्टो मां पाययति।... (p. 103f).

The motif is the same in both the places, though there is some variance of detail. Madayantikā's confession is intensely voptuous while that of Kādambarī breathes restraint and elegance.

20. The passages referred to in the preceding para are revealing from another point of view. Bāṇa here reveals greater and subtler dramatic sense than Bhavabhūti. For, Bāṇa has made Kādambarī speak in short effective sentences; while Bhavabhūti has put long-winded phrases in the mouth of Madayantikā which sound unnatural in a character like her and which, at any rate, are entirely out of place in a drama. If Bhavabhūti has attempted here—and elsewhere—to emulate Bāṇa in the employment of long-winded sonorous phrases of which the latter is undoubtedly a master, he has certainly achieved his aim. But his gains as a poet are offset by losses as a dramatist.

21. The cumulative effect of these and other passages containing parallellism of thought or expression should well have made a sensitive poet like Bhavabhūti

apprehensive of adverse criticism of his *Mālatīmādhava*, especially from lovers of Bāṇa. The hostile critics in their attempt to discredit the *MM* would even point at the indebtedness of the play to Kalidāsa e.g. in Act IX. Under the circumstances, Bhavabhūti could save himself from this suffocation of prejudiced criticism only by looking up to some kindred soul at some other time or in some other clime.

22. That Bhavabhūti's apprehension of prejudiced criticism of his *MM* by contemporary critics must have materialized is indicated by the strain of bitterness discernible in the following stanza in the introduction of his *Uttararāmacarita*:

सर्वथा व्यवहर्तव्यं कुतो ह्यवचनीयता।
यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः॥

Bhavabhūti appears to say: you have to live in the world and write in the world. You will not escape criticism. Why, men will be less than gentlemen in their criticism of women and poetry, however chaste they both may be!

The note of philosophic resignation of an injured soul is unmistakable.

16 THE NAIṢADHACARITA OF ŚRĪHARṢA—A LINGUISTIC STUDY

Introductory:

1. *Naiṣadhacarita* is the last of the five outstanding Mahākāvyas listed by tradition. Not only chronologically but technically also, it deserves to be placed last in the traditional list because it marks the highwater mark of 'decadence' which gives primacy to art over inspiration in creative literature. This epic of art extending over twenty-two cantos deals mainly with a prominent event from the *Nalopākhyāna* in the *Araṇyakaparvan* (*Adhyāyas* 50-78) of the *Mahābhārata*. Its central motif is the love and marriage of Nala, the prince of the Niṣadha country, and Damayantī, the princess of Vidarbha whose matchless beauty had captured the hearts of gods of heaven, too! The author of this poem is Śrīharṣa, whose parents were Hīra and Māmalladevī as the epilogue or signature stanza at the end of every canto testifies. The identity of Śrīharṣa is settled by these signature stanzas, each of which mentions the name of some other composition of the author, the most outstanding among them being the well-known scholastic philosophical work *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya*. *Kh.* carries a statement which places the common authorship of the *Nc.* and *Kh.* beyond all doubt (see

para. 21). The date of the author of *Nc.* is also as good as settled the middle or the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. which is the *terminus ad quem* because the earliest commentary on the *Nc.* available to us was composed by Vidyādhara in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. While these aspects of the work are accepted practically unanimously by scholars, there are a few others which, as in many other cases, have become subjects of difference of view and even controversy. One of these, for instance, is the question of the extent of the *Nc.* *i.e.* whether the poem as it exists today is complete or incomplete. Another is the question regarding the home of the author of the *Nc.*

2. The question of the home of Śrīharṣa has been broached, of course indirectly, by the commentators. It has been dealt with in modern times by scholars like Keith, Krishnamachari, N. K. Bhattacharya, N. N. Dasgupta, S. K. De, M. B. Emeneau and A. N. Jani. Among these, Nilkamal Bhattacharya has made a determined attempt to claim Bengal (Gauḍa) as the home of Śrīharṣa and collected evidence of language, style, customs, beliefs, usages etc. in support of his thesis.[1] However, his contention has not found any appreciable support. De regards the attempt of Bhattacharya as 'wholly unconvincing'.[2] Emeneau is aware of the 'Bengal theory' but is inclined to the view that 'the upper Ganges valley may be accepted provisionally as Śrīharṣa's locality'.[3] Jani takes note of the controversy, especially the opinion of Bhattacharya and the arguments adduced by him in its support and appears to

1. *'Naiṣadhacarita and Śrīharṣa'* in the Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Studies, Vol. III (1924), pp. 159-194.
2. *HSL*, Vol. I (1947), p. 326 n. 1.
3. *'Notes on Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita'* in *Semitic and Oriental Studies*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. XI (1951), p. 88.

be convinced but ends by saying 'Till then Bengal may be accepted provisionally as Śrīharṣa's home.'[4]

3. The aim of this article is to attempt an exhaustive study of the question of the home of Śrīharṣa by noticing and examining the arguments and conclusions of different scholars and assessing their value and by examining linguistic and other evidence provided by the *Nc.* itself, which has not been noticed so far.

I

4. The simple and straightforward course to adopt would be to look for direct internal evidence i.e. any statement made by the author in the body of his work in regard to his native place. Such a reference could be legitimately expected of an author as late as Śrīharṣa if he had composed a drama. For, dramatic theory required the author to insert *prarocanā* in the Prelude (*Prastāvanā*) in which he should offer details of an autobiographical nature. Unfortunately, Śrīharṣa has not written a play nor is the *Nc.* one. Unlike the prose forms of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā*, poetic theory did not demand that the author of an epic of art—*Mahākāvya*—must give details of what is called bio-data in modern parlance. Nor was it a practice, as indicated by the earlier *Kirātārjunīyam* and *Śiśupālavadham*, with the author of a *Mahākāvya* to give personal or family details at the end of the whole work.

5. The case of the *Nc.* is very peculiar, so to say, in this respect. For one thing, the text as it is available to us today contains twentytwo cantos. At the end of each of the cantos there is appended a stanza cast in a set pattern with a slight variation in regard to the information each one of them provides about the other works of Śrīharṣa.

4. *A Critical Study of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacaritam* (1957), p. 109. (JNC).

This stanza may well be called the 'signature stanza' as it contains the name of the author together with the names of his parents and the number of the canto which has just concluded. Secondly, the signature stanza at the end of the last i.e. twenty-second canto is followed by four stanzas which strike a personal note on the part of the author. These two pieces of evidence have a bearing, direct or indirect, on the question of the home of Śrīharṣa and therefore merit thorough investigation.

6. Let us first take up the question of the four concluding stanzas at the end of the twenty-second canto. They are as follows and in the same order:

(1) यथा यूनस्तद्वत्परमरमणीयापि रमणी
कुमाराणामन्तःकरणहरणं नैव कुरुते ।
मदुक्तिश्चेदन्तर्मदयति सुधीभूय सुधियः
किमस्या नाम स्यादरसपुरुषानादरभरैः ॥

(2) दिशि दिशि गिरिग्रावाणः स्वां वमन्तु सरस्वतीं
तुलयतु मिथस्तामापातस्फुरद्ध्वनिडम्बराम् ।
स परमपरः क्षीरोदन्वान्यदीयमुदीयते
मथितुरमृतं खेदच्छेदि प्रमोदनमोदनम् ॥

(3) ग्रन्थग्रन्थिरिह क्वचित्क्वचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया
प्राज्ञंमन्यमना हठेन पठितो मास्मिन्खलः खेलतु ।
श्रद्धाराद्धगुरुश्लथीकृतदृढग्रन्थिः समासादय-
त्वेतत्काव्यरसोर्मिमज्जनसुखव्यासङ्जनं सज्जनः ॥

(4) ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च लभते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरा-
द्यः साक्षात्कुरुते समाधिषु परं ब्रह्म प्रमोदार्णवम् ।
यत्काव्यं मधुवर्षि धर्षितपरास्तर्केषु यस्योक्तयः
श्रीश्रीहर्षकवेः कृतिः कृतिमुदे तस्याभ्युदीयादियम् ॥

These stanzas betray the highly self-conscious vein of the author about the qualities of his poem which he asserts will appeal only to the discriminating *connoisseur;* he adds

that its poetic excellence is above the ordinary and that he has deliberately introduced some knotty points in order to keep smatterers well away from his work! In the last stanza it is stated that while Śrīharṣa's poem is dripping with sweetness, his statements in logical exposition overwhelm the opponents. However, it is the first line of this last stanza which is important for our purpose: Śrīharṣa used to receive a couple of betel-rolls and a seat as a mark of favour from the king of Kanouj. Here, then, is a definite statement in the poem itself declaring that Śrīharṣa basked at the royal court of Kanouj and enjoyed distinctive favours from the prince. Mainly on the strength of this statement, Watve asserts that Śrīharṣa belonged to Kanouj.[5] Emeneau holds a similar view, though not necessarily on the same grounds.[6]

7. Before proceeding further, a fundamental question regarding these four concluding stanzas requires to be settled: it is with regard to their authenticity. Handiqui has not been able to publish the second part of his scholarly study of the *Nc.* in which he had promised to deal with critical questions like the one we are considering here. With his exhaustive and critical study of the *MS.* material and the commentaries on the *Nc.*, he would be in a position to form some definite opinion on this question. However, in his translation of the poem in the first part of his work, he has dropped these four stanzas and made no reference to any one or more of them. This may be an indication that he has satisfied himself that these four concluding stanzas are not genuine but only later additions. De is cautious when he refers to these stanzas as 'the four additional verses found at the end of the poem, the genuineness of which, however, is not beyond question'.[7] Jani appears to be convinced about the spurious character of these stanzas.[8]

5. *Saṁskṛta Kāvyāce Pañcaprāṇa*, p. 231.
6. *Cf.* n. 3.

8. Let us first consider the evidence of *MSS.* and the commentaries. One thing may be borne in mind: the *Nc.* despite its difficult and scholastic nature—or perhaps because of it—has proved very popular among the Pandits, which is indicated not only by the very large number of commentaries—nearly fifty—written on it in course of time but also by the fact that some half a dozen commentaries were written within a hundred and fifty years of its composition.[9] Now in the case of a popular author Śrīharṣa, the evidence of commentators who flourished nearer in time would command better credibility, if any at all, than those of later times because these latter would be inclined to pick up—if not, perhaps, invent—and preserve material pertaining to the popular work or its author handed down from earlier generations, although this material may be apocryphal in origin. For them, it is a case of distance lending enchantment to the view! Proximity in time, however, is not always or necessarily a decisive factor in assessing the genuineness or otherwise of any portion of a literary work. It may assume importance and claim a fair degree of credibility if it has 'live' proximity *i.e.* nearness in time which would make it possible for an author to have direct or first-hand or live information about his predecessor. In other words, the authors would stand practically in the relation of senior and junior contemporaries with a margin of time in between, which however would not vitiate their contemporaneity. In the case of Śrīharṣa, Vidyādhara and

7. HSL, p. 325.
8. JNC, p. 30.
9. *E.g.*, Vidyādhara (about the middle of the 13th century), Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita (1297 A.D.), Narahari (1240 A.D.?), Śrīdatta (between 1275 and 1310 A.D.), Īśānadeva (1322 A.D.), Śrīnātha (*cir.* 1330 A.D.). For details see JNC, pp. 33ff.

Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, the two earliest of the commentators of the *Nc.*, can be said to enjoy 'live' proximity, the former directly and the latter indirectly. Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita wrote his commentary in 1297 A.D.,[10] possibly more than a century after the *Nc.* was composed. However, he is closely acquainted with the commentary of Vidyādhara which he mentions with due regard but adds that Vidyādhara's commentary, written with proper understanding, has not made the poem of Śrīharṣa the less profound or difficult.[11] Vidyādhara can be assigned to 'the fifties or sixties of the thirteenth century' without difficulty as proposed by Handiqui.[12] He is therefore well within live proximity of Śrīharṣa and would be in a position to possess or gather first-hand information about the poet and his life.

9. As far as the evidence of the *MSS.* of the *Nc.* is concerned, Jani has stated that these four concluding stanzas "are not found in the oldest available *MSS.* of the poem."[13] This statement requires modification because it is obvious that *MSS.* which, though fragmentary or incomplete in other respects, contain the last canto upto its end can alone be relevant to our problem and throw whatever light they can thereon. From the description he has given of these 'oldest available' *MSS.* in Appendix 2, we know that they are three in all; of these, the *MS.* dated Saṁvat 1304 (= 1248 A.D.) is wanting in the first eleven cantos,

10. Cf. the following stanza of Cāṇḍū himself at the end of Canto XXII:
श्रीविक्रमार्कसमयाच्छरदामथ त्रिपञ्चाशता समधिकेषु शतेष्वितेषु ।
तेषु त्रयोदशसु भाद्रपदे च शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदशतिथौ रविवासरे च ॥
The date mentioned here is Saṁvat 1353 (= 1297 A.D.).

11. Cf. टीकां यद्यपि सोपपत्तिरचनां विद्याधरो निर्ममे
श्रीहर्षस्य तथापि न त्यजति सा गम्भीरतां भारती ।
दिक्कूलंकषतां गतैर्जलधरैरुद्गृह्यमाणं मुहुः
पारावारमपारमम्बु किमिह स्याज्जानुदघ्नं क्वचित् ॥
—B.O.R.I.D. Vol. XIII, Nos. 389-90, p. 480.

12. *Naiṣadhacarita of Śrīharṣa* (1956), p. XXVI, (HNC).

13. JNC, p. 30.

but extends upto the end of canto XXII. Another *Ms.* dated Saṁvat 1395 (actual date: 23 October 1338) contains only cantos I-XIV and is therefore of no help for our present purpose. The third *MS.* bearing no date contains cantos I-XI and XII-XXII, the two parts being written in different hands and bearing separate pagination. Unfortunately, it ends at st. 144 of the XXII canto,[14] leaving it incomplete as the folio or folios containing further stanzas is missing: this *MS.*, too, is therefore of no use for our purpose. It is clear from this scrutiny of these *MSS.* that the only valid statement which could be made is that the four concluding stanzas are not found in the oldest available *MS.* (dated 1248 A.D.) of the *Nc.*

10. Practically contemporaneous with this *MS.* (1248 A.D.) is Vidyādhara, the earliest, commentator of the *Nc.* who as already noted above is to be assigned to the fifties or sixties of the thirteenth century. There are about a dozen *MSS.* of the *Nc.* with the commentary of Vidyādhara: only six of them, complete or fragmentary, extend upto the end of the XXII canto.[15] All these *MSS.* of *Vidyādharī* or *Sāhityavidyādharī* contain the first two of these concluding stanzas. In the light of the combined evidence of the oldest available *MS.* of the *Nc.* and the *MSS.* of the commentary of Vidyādhara, the last two of the

14. सपीतेः संप्रीतेरजनि रजनीशः परिषदा etc. which is st. XXII. 146.

15. They are:
(i) No. 14060 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, folios 384. Complete. No date.
(ii) No. 9 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, folios 311, cantos I.144 to XXII 152. Dated Saṁvat 1712 (= 1656 A.D.).
(iii) No. 3609 of Jambusvāmi Jain Muktābāī Jñānamandira, Dabhoi, folios 355. Complete. Date Saṁvat 1667 (= 1611 A.D.).
(iv) No. 299 GOS XXI, Jaisalmir Bhandar, No date mentioned but assigned to the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. by Muni Puṇya-Vijayaji. Cf. JNC, p. 30.
(v) No. 377 MS No. 142/1875-76 of B.O.R.I. folios 455 (?). Cantos II 38 to XXII 153. Date Saṁvat 1649 (= 1593 A.D.).
(vi) No. 378 MS No. 454/1895-1902. B.O.R.I. folios 303. Cantos II 110 to XXII 152. Date Saṁvat 1732 (= 1676 A.D.).

four concluding stanzas stand exposed as spurious additions.

11. The case of the first two concluding stanzas requires examination. As already stated above, these two stanzas are not found in the oldest available MS. of the *Nc.* but they are read by Vidyādhara. As the MS. and the *Vidyādharī* are practically contemporaneous, they may be looked upon as representing two versions in regard to the stanzas in question, which both appear to have continued to exist side by side in later times.[16] Vidyādhara is in 'live' proximity with Śrīharṣa: he is too near the *Nc.* to accept any material which in his opinion may be a later addendum. A probable explanation of the co-existence of the two divergent versions may lie in the fact that Śrīharṣa having completed the text of the *Nc.* may have sought the seal of approval from the learned Paṇdits of Kashmir who may have formed the highest tribune of poetic adjudication. In fact, according to the *Prabandhakośa,* Śrīharṣa was advised by his patron, king of Kāśī, to seek such approval which he did.[17] The signature stanza at the end of canto XVI describes the *Naiṣadhacarita* as a

16. *Cf.* No. 358 MS. 88/1918-24 dated Saṁvat 1420 (?) in B.O.R.I.D., Vol. XIII (1940), pt. I, which is complete but does not read any concluding stanza.

17. *Cf. Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekharasūri, edited by Muni Jinavijayaji (1935), pp. 54f. In the section on Śrīharṣa therein, it is stated that at the behest of the king, he went to Kashmir and placed the MS. of the *Nc.* in the hands of the goddess Sarasvatī who, having been satisfied on a question of detail in the poem, praised it. Śrīharṣa then requested the Paṇditas to grant a certificate for him to show to his patron Jayantacandra. The Paṇditas were disinclined to oblige Śrīharṣa despite the seal of approval given by the goddess Sarasvatī. Śrīharṣa was disappointed. Once he happened to be a witness to a quarrel between two maid-servants of a rich man and in the presence of the king was able, as a witness, to reproduce every detail of the words exchanged between the two women, although he understood not a syllable of the local Kashmiri language! The king was pleased with his learning and bestowed honours on him and sent him back to Kāśī. Extensive extracts from the *Prabandhakośa* are reproduced in the Sanskrit Introduction to the *Nc.* published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press (1933). Also *cf.* JNC, pp. 87ff.

poem lauded by scholars of Kashmir who were learned in the fourteen lores.[18] That Śrīharṣa looked upon this approbation of his poem as an achievement is obvious from his reference to it in this stanza. He may have been inclined to express his sense of exultation by adding the signature stanza at the end of every canto wherein he names his various compositions and by attaching the first two concluding stanzas at the end of canto XXII. These two stanzas breathe an air of exultation and pride which is quite understandable in view of the confirmation of Śrīharṣa's poetic reputation in Kashmir. Moreover, the presence of these two stanzas which have little direct connection with the theme of the poem would be indicative of the conclusion of the entire work at the end of canto XXII.

12. The fact that these two concluding stanzas are located differently in relation to the signature stanza in the MS. of the *Vidyādharī* from Jesalmere Bhandar (cf.n. 15 (IV)) is also significant: the two stanzas occur before the signature stanza. It may be that originally the two concluding stanzas may have been added immediately after the last stanza dealing with the subject-matter of the canto and they may have been followed by the signature stanza, which would ensure uniformity with the other cantoes of the poem. Again, if these stanzas were placed after the signature stanza the poem would have concluded in vague anonymity because the second stanza makes no mention of the author or the poem at all. That this consideration is relevant and serious is seen from the fact that the fourth concluding stanza of the group—the last stanza—specifically mentions the author and his 'work'. Therefore it is probable that Śrīharṣa appended the first two stanzas at the end of canto XXII and then added the signature stanza, as is testified by MS. from Jesalmere Bhandar

18. काश्मीरैर्महिते चतुर्दशतयीं विद्यां विबद्धिर्महा-
काव्ये तद्भुवि नैषधीयचरिते सर्गोऽगमत्षोडशः ॥

which is almost as old as the MS. of the text of the *Nc.* dated 1248 A.D. However, as these two stanzas had no organic connection with the subject-matter and as they carried observations regarding the entire poem and not merely canto XXII and, lastly, as they were intended to signify the conclusion of the entire work, they might have been shoved down to follow—rather than precede—the signature stanza. This shift in the order is noticed in a MS. containing Vidyādhara's commentary which reads only the first two concluding stanzas but places them after the signature stanza.[19] However, as observed already, this arrangement would lead to a tame and anonymous end of the work as the two stanzas would be hanging in the air without any specific mention of their context of author or work. This must have necessitated the addition of the other two concluding stanzas—nos. 3 and 4—cast practically in the same vein and, at least the last of them, containing a specific mention of the author or his work by name to bring the work to a close. These two additional stanzas must naturally be Śrīharṣa's and known to be such to all. Now, stanzas 3 and 4 are found at the end of Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana.* It is possible, as surmised by Bhattacharya, that they belonged originally to *Khaṇḍana*[20] and may have been transferred to the *Nc.* to provide it with a suitable end.[21]

19. *Cf.* n. 15 (ii).
20. Saraswati Bhavan Studies, III, p. 166. *Cf. Contra* Muni Puṇyavijayaji's view in JNC, p. 30, particularly, n. 10.
21. One MS. of Narahari's commentary contains four concluding stanzas, of which the first two are the usual ones; the other two are as follows:

जिह्वे मौनमथास्तैन्यं व्रतमेकं वहेच्छया ।
मुखे निलीय ति(नि)ष्ठन्त्या न ते ह्रीस्तमसा भृशम् ॥
साहित्ये सुकुमारवस्तुनि दृढन्यायग्रहग्रन्थिले
तर्के वा मयि संविधातरि समं लीलायते भारती ।
शय्या वास्तु मृदूत्तरच्छदवती दर्भाङ्कुरैरास्तृता
भूमिर्वा हृदयंगमो यदि पतिस्तुल्या रतिर्योषिताम् ॥

Another Ms. of the same author's commentary ends with this same stanza. *Cf.* B.O.R.I.D., Vol. XIII, Pt. I, Nos. 353 and 372. This stanza is attributed to Śrīharṣa in the *Prabandhakośa.* Therefore while this stanza may be Śrīharṣa's, yet, as a concluding stanza, it fails to provide the *Nc.* with a definite ending.

13. It would appear therefore that the Ms. of the *Nc.* dated 1248 A.D. and the Ms. of the *Sāhityavidyādharī* which is assigned to the later half of the thirteenth century A.D. by Muni Puṇyavijayajī and therefore is practically contemporaneous with the former represent authentic though divergent versions of the text as far as the first two concluding stanzas are concerned. Therefore these two stanzas deserve to be accepted as genuine. The other two stanzas appear to be later additions.

14. Consequently, the view that Śrīharṣa was a native of Kanouj loses all cogency as the last stanza which says that Śrīharṣa received a pair of betel-rolls and a seat as a mark of honour from the king of Kanouj—the very foundation of this view—proves to be spurious.

15. The evidence for the view that Śrīharṣa may have been a native of Vārāṇasī is still less cogent. Of course, the *Prabandhakośa* has a whole section called *Śrīharṣa-vidyādhara-jayantacandra-prabandha* in which it gives a detailed account of Jayantacandra having patronized Śrīharṣa. Jayantacandra is stated to live at Kāśī; it was to Kāśī that Śrīharṣa returned after acquiring extraordinary literary gifts through the favours of goddess Tripurā and it was to Kāśī that the king of Kashmir sent Śrīharṣa, laden with honours, after his triumphant visit to Kashmir.[22] Epigraphic evidence shows that Kanouj was the dynastic Capital of Jayantacandra and that his ancestors held dominion over Kāśī and other holy places.[23] The evidence of the *Prabandhakośa* would show that Jayantacandra, whose Capital was Kanouj, held court also at Vārāṇasī where learned scholars enjoyed his patronage. The statement, therefore,

22. *Cf.* पूर्वस्यां वाराणस्यां पुरि गोविन्दचन्द्रो नाम राजा । ...तत्पुत्रो....जयन्तचन्द्रः.... तस्य राज्ञो बहवो विद्वांसः। तत्रैको हीरनामा विप्रः। तस्य नन्दनः प्राज्ञचक्रवर्ती श्रीहर्षः (p. 54)..... कृतकृत्यीभूय काशीमयासीत् । (p. 55)..... राज्ञा च सत्कार्य तैः प्रहितः श्रीहर्षः कासीम् । (p. 56).
23. *Cf. Indian Antiquary,* XV, pp. 11f.

that "Śrīharṣa lived in Vārāṇasī during the reign of Jayantacandra (1168-1194) for whose entertainment he wrote this poem"[24] means as much and nothing more. In fact, the view that Śrīharṣa belonged to Kanouj rather than Vārāṇasī finds support at least in later tradition preserved in the first line of the last of the conclusive stanzas which mentions the favours received by Śrīharṣa from the king of Kanouj.

16. The view that Śrīharṣa hailed from Kashmir need not be seriously entertained for neither of the two grounds on which it could possibly be urged has any validity. One of the grounds is the anecdote, popular among Pandits, which relates that Śrīharṣa showed his poem to his maternal uncle Mammaṭa, the famous author of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and that Mammaṭa said after going through the *Nc.* that much of his labour in collecting illustrations of poetic faults from different works could have been saved only if he had seen the poem earlier. This anecdote, though accepted by some scholars as true,[25] is not likely to be authentic. There is no evidence to show that Mammaṭa and Śrīharṣa were related to each other; even the names of Śrīharṣa's father and mother do not sound Kashmirian. Moreover, the two *litterateurs* could not have been contemporaries. For, Mammaṭa lived well before 1160 A.D. the year in which Māṇikyacandra wrote his commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* while Śrīharṣa was a contemporary of Jayantacandra (1168-1194) of Kanouj and his literary career cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[26] Possibly, they were

24. Śrī Akṣayakumārī Devī, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 157.
25. *Cf.* Dr. K. C. Chatterji in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, No. 6 (1930), pp. 153-160; also, Baldeva Upadhyaya, *Saṁskṛta Kavi-carcā* (1952), pp. 380f.
26. *Cf.* JNC, p. 128f. Also *cf.* S. P. Bhattacharya in *Oriental Thought*, Vol. I, No. 4 (July, 1955), pp. 58-73, who argues for a slightly earlier date; the *Nc.* may have been composed 'before the middle of the 12th century, at least a decade prior to it.'

in 'live' proximity with each other but that alone is not sufficient to prove their relationship or the occasion of their meeting. The second ground may possibly be the statement in the signature stanza at the end of canto XVI that the *Nc.* was highly applauded by the learned Pandits of Kashmir. This statement, instead of indicating the Kashmirian nativity of Śrīharṣa, would prove just the opposite: it would be only an outsider who would flaunt the approbation of his poetic work by Kashmirian Pandits and pride himself upon it.

17. The view that Śrīharṣa was a native of Bengal may be said to possess comparatively stronger support. Initially, it may be said to derive support from ancient evidence both internal and external. The signature stanza at the end of canto VII mentions a work called *Gaudorvīśakulapraśasti* composed by Śrīharṣa.[27] The fact that Śrīharṣa undertook to compose a panegyric of the dynasty of Gauḍa kings would show that he had an intimate—personal—interest in the Gauḍa province. The kind of this interest it is not possible to ascertain. A more definite piece of information is provided by the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekharasūri. Its section called. *Hariharaprabandha* narrates how the poet Harihara visited Gujarat, carrying a MS of the *Nc.* with him and how he permitted a transcript of it to be made at the request of Vastupāla, the minister of king Vīradhavala and himself a *litterateur*. This section describes Harihara as belonging to the family of Śrīharṣa and hailing from the Gauḍa country, *cf.* श्रीहर्षवंशे हरिहरः । गौडदेश्यः सिद्धसारस्वतः ।[28]

18. Neither of these two references is able to establish Bengal as the home province of Śrīharṣa. To take

27. गौडोर्वीशकुलप्रशस्तिमणितिश्चातर्यमं तन्महा-
काव्ये चारुणि नैषधीयचरिते सर्गोऽगमत्सप्तमः ॥
28. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

the latter reference first, Rājaśekharasūri has stated in an earlier section[29] that Hīra, Śrīharṣa's father, was a learned scholar at the court of king Jayantacandra at Kāśī, that Hīra had suffered a defeat at the hands of another scholar in open court, that Hīra asked his son Śrīharṣa to avenge his humiliation and that the latter did retrieve the reputation of his father by establishing his superiority of learning over his father's adversary. In the long section devoted to Śrīharṣa and his achievements, there is not a trace of reference to his being a native of Bengal. We shall do well to bear this fact in mind when we evaluate the description of Harihara as belonging to the family of Śrīharṣa and hailing from the Gauḍa country. It is obvious that in a work like the *Prabandhakośa* one cannot be too fastidious about exactness of thought or expression or authenticity in details of its contents. The *Prabandhas* deal with historical personages but their main aim is, as Bühler has remarked, "to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith and to supply the monks with the material for their sermons, or when the subject is purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment."[30] Sandesara is justified in sounding a warning that "the *Prabandhas* should be treated not as so many real histories or biographies, but only as material to be critically used for historical purpose."[31]

19. It would appear from chronological evidence that Harihara could not be far removed from Śrīharṣa in time; may be, he was, if at all, a grandson of Śrīharṣa.[31a]

29. *Cf.* n. 22.
30. *Life of Hemacandrācārya*, p. 3.
31. *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla*, p. 144.
31a. *Prabandhakośa* tells us that Śrīharṣa was a contemporary of Padmākaramantri of Jayantachandra, who secured the permission of Kumārapāla, Caulukya king of Pāṭaṇ in Gujarat, for taking Sūhavadevī to Jayantacandra. Kumārapāla ruled from 1143 to 1174 A.D. Now, Harihara visited Dhavalakka and met Vīradhavala, the

The fact that he carried a copy of the *Nc.* with him to Gujarat and was much interested in the work himself may indicate that he stood in some near, if not special, relation with Śrīharṣa. It is possible that Harihara himself was settled in Gauḍa country, where he must have sought and found his fortune. This possibility would avoid the conflict with the contents of the *Śrīharṣakaviprabandha* section of the same work.

20. The composition of the *Gauḍorvīśakula-praśasti* by Śrīharṣa may have been a token of gratitude on the part of the poet for favours or patronage he may have received from the king ruling over Bengal in his days. It is unavailing to attempt to identify any particular ruler of Bengal on the basis of this reference which is really vague as it refers to a *Kula* (dynasty) of kings of Bengal; and D. R. Bhandarkar perhaps is justified in refusing to see any reference to a particular Gauḍa king.[32] In fact, this eulogy along with others, *Vijaya-praśasti* (canto V) *Chinda-praśasti* (canto XVII) and *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* (canto XXII) mentioned in signature stanzas, indicates, as Chanda has surmised,[33] that, like the poet Bilhaṇa of a slightly earlier period, Śrīharṣa was a wandering minstrel who walked into royal courts, earned patronage through his literary gifts and expressed his sense of gratitude through eulogistic compositions. These works by themselves can have little reference to the home of Śrīharṣa.

Vāghelā king and his minister Vastupāla. Vīradhavala offered ministership to Vastupāla in 1220 A.D. (cf. Sandesara, *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla*, p. 28). Vīradhavala died in 1238 A.D. and Vastupāla in 1240 A.D. Therefore, Harihara could have visited Dhavalakka between 1220 A.D. and 1238 A.D., say, acknowledged as a great scholar. Putting all this information together, it would appear that Harihara could not be separated from Śrīharṣa by more than forty years. This makes it probable that he belonged to the second generation after Śrīharṣa.
32. A Note on 'The Age of Śrīharṣa' by Chanda R. P. in *Indian Antiquary*, XLII (1913), p. 84.
33. *Indian Antiquary*, XLII, p. 83.

21. All the above works are mentioned in the signature stanzas at the end of different cantos and are therefore involved in the question of the authenticity of the signature stanza itself. The question arises because of the fact that the *Nc.* mentions the *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya* in the signature stanza at the end of canto VI[34] while the *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya* makes a reference to the contents of the XXIst canto of the Nc.[35] The possibility of these two works being under simultaneous composition is ruled out because a third work of his viz. *Īśvarābhisandhi* appears to have been in the process of composition along with the *Khaṇḍana*, which refers to the former five times in all, of which one reference is in the future tense.[36] This would imply that some sections of the *Īśvarābhisandhi* had already been composed and some were yet to be composed while the author was engaged in writing the *Khaṇḍana*. It is not possible to believe that the *Nc.* was also being composed along with these two philosophical works. Now, as the *Khaṇḍana* refers, while only half way through, to the contents of the XXIst canto of the *Nc.* it would be logical to conclude that the *Nc.* preceded the *Khaṇḍana* and was completed earlier than the latter. The word '*sahaja*' used in the signature stanza with reference to the *Khaṇḍana*, does not necessarily mean 'coeval', but only 'born of the same source' which is what all the signature stanzas are intended to convey in regard to the works of Śrīharṣa. If, therefore, the *Nc.* is believed to have been composed prior to the *Khaṇḍana*, the signature stanza at the end of the VIth canto which mentions *Khaṇḍana* by

34. *Cf.* श्रीहर्षं कविराजराजिमुकुटालंकारहीरः सुतं
श्रीहीरः सुषुवे जितेन्द्रियचयं मामल्लदेवी च यम् ।
षष्ठः खण्डनखण्डतोऽपि सहजात्क्षोदक्षमे तन्महा-
काव्येऽयं व्यगमन्नलस्य चरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः ॥ VI.113

35. *Cf.* तथाह्मकथयं नैषधीयचरिते परमपुरुषस्तुतौ सर्गे । Dravid's ed. p. 226.

36. *Cf.* शेषं चेश्वराभिसन्धौ स्वप्रकाशवादे निर्वक्ष्यामः । Dravid ed. p. 107.

name cannot be a part of the original text: it must have been appended later.

22. This conclusion is strengthened by another consideration. As already observed earlier, the signature stanza at the end of canto XVI states that the *Nc.* was highly praised by the Kashmirian scholars learned in the fourteen lores.[37] The fact that this statement comes in the stanza in the middle of the poem exposes it to legitimate suspicion because a work can be presented to scholars for opinion only after it is completed. It is impossible that the highbrow Pandits of Kashmir would care to look into a poem which was only partially composed. This reference would therefore imply that the signature stanza is a later addition. As a matter of fact, all the signature stanzas are cast in the same mould and are likely to have been appended without any particular reference at the end of each canto at a later date, probably out of a sense of exultation and elation on securing the approbation of the Pandits of Kashmir, as stated earlier in para 11. The fact that the signature stanzas are found in all the oldest available MSS and, besides, are read and commented upon by Vidyādhara and Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita vouch for their genuineness i.e., they were incorporated into the text by Śrīharṣa himself rather than, say, his son or a student.[38]

23. That these signature stanzas must have been appended by Śrīharṣa himself is indicated by another consideration. The commentator Vidyādhara who was in 'live' proximity with Śrīharṣa, reads and comments on these stanzas; what is noteworthy, however, is that, following the lead of Śrīharṣa, he, too, has affixed signature stanzas at the end of his commentary on all cantos of the *Nc.* His signature stanza too is fashioned on the model of Śrīharṣa's.[39] Another stanza, an additional signature

37. See n. 18.

38. JNC, p. 31.

39. श्रीसौरद्विजवंशमौक्तिकमणिश्रीरामचन्द्रो भिषक्
श्रीसीता सुपतिव्रता गुणवती सीतेव माता च यम् ।
श्रीविद्याधरमात्मजं प्रसुषुवे साहित्यविद्याधरं
तस्यायं विगतः प्रबन्धविषये सर्गो द्विसङ्ख्यायुतः ॥—B.O.R.I.D. No. 377, p. 464

stanza is also found at the end of his commentary on several cantos.[40] Apparently Vidyādhara took a fancy for this innovation introduced by Śrīharṣa and adopted the same in the case of his commentary on the latter's poem. It is possible to imagine that had he entertained any doubt about the authenticity of these signature stanzas he would not have cared to emulate the device. Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, too, follows Vidyādhara's lead in this respect.[41] The third commentator to be inspired to append a signature stanza at the end of his commentary on each canto of the *Nc.* is Narahari, whose stanza too is cast on the pattern of the signature stanza of Śrīharṣa.[42] That this device of a signature stanza was started by Śrīharṣa is clear from the fact that none of the Mahākāvyas of earlier times is known to have used it. This device charmed not only some commentators of the *Nc.*, but some authors of later Mahākāvya also who have flattered Śrīharṣa by imitation.[43]

40. लीलाद्योतितगूढभावसुभगालङ्कारवृन्दान्विता
संसेव्या सुमनोवरैर्नवरसप्रोल्लासिनी शोभना ।
चित्तासेचनके नलस्य चरिते बद्धास्पदा या सदा
टीका कान्तिगुणान्विता जयति सा साहित्यविद्याधरी ॥—B.O.R.I.D. No. 378, p. 465

41. श्रीमानालिगपण्डितः स्वसमयाविर्भूतसर्वाश्रम-
श्चाण्डूपण्डितसंज्ञितं प्रसुषुवे श्रीगौरिदेवी च यम् ।
बुद्ध्वा श्रीमुनिदेवसंज्ञविबधात्काव्यं नवं नषधं
द्वाविंशे शशिवर्णने विवरणं सर्गे स टीकां व्यधात् ॥
—B.O.R.I.D. Nos. 388-90, p. 480.

42. यं प्रासूत त्रिलिङ्गक्षितिपतिसततताराधिताङ्घ्रिः स्वयंभूः
पातिव्रत्यैकसीमा सुकविनरहरिं नालमा यं च माता ।
यं विद्यारण्ययोगी कलयति कृपया तत्कृतौ दीपिकायां
द्वाविंशश्चारुसर्गः सुकृतसुखयशोधाम नीराजितोऽभूत् ॥
—B.O.R.I.D. Nos. 369, 374, p. 454.

43. यं प्रासूत सुतं प्रसूः कविवरं रामाभिधानं सती
ख्यातो यस्य मनीषिमण्डलविधुः श्रीलक्ष्मणाख्यः पिता ।
यस्य भ्रातृयुगं महद्विजयते पाण्डित्यपारंगतं
तेनास्मिन् रचिते समाप्तिमगमत् सर्गोऽयमादिर्नवः ॥
—*Nṛpavilāsa*, no. 352, Ms. 412/1887-91, B.O.R.I.D.; Vol. XIII, pt. 1.

It would be interesting to note here that the *Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya* of Vastupāla reads a glorificatory stanza after the colophon at the end of every canto. It is obvious that these stanzas are later additions. The *Vasantavilāsa* of Bālacandra also has similar stanzas glorifying the hero Vastupāla at the end of every canto: these stanzas appear to have been composed by the author Bālacandra himself.

24. The difficulty raised by the cross references in the *Nc.* and the *Khaṇḍana* can thus be solved on the basis of evidence at our disposal. For all practical purposes, the signature stanzas deserve to be accepted as genuine. De appears to mean as much when he observes, "These and other considerations render the genuineness of the epilogue stanzas doubtful although it is quite possible that they embody a genuine tradition."[44]

25. Next, let us consider the information provided by two commentators of the *Nc.* and Vidyāpati in regard to this question. Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita gives a brief note as follows: Śrīharṣa was anxious to avenge his father's humiliation by Udayana. For this purpose, he first brought his mind under control in order to restrain it from distractions of the four Aims of human endeavour. In the holy place of Vārāṇasī he attained the realisation of Brahman and there continued to perform religious duties on the banks of the Ganges; he looked at huge piles of gold coins without being tempted thereby and remained undistracted even when he was being attended upon by young maidens of matchless beauty. Having thus achieved perfect self-control, he proceeded to compose a work (obviously the *Khaṇḍana.*) in which he shattered the scholarly statements of his father's adversary. Seeing however that that work would have no interest for people of an aesthetic bent because of its dry reasoning, he composed this poem (*Nc.*) full of aesthetic interest for their sake.[45] This brief biographical

44. HSL, p. 326 n. 3.

45. *Cf.* प्रथमं तावत्कविविजिगीषुकथायां स्वपितृपरिभावुकमुदयनमत्यमर्षणतया कटाक्षयंस्तद्ग्रन्थग्रन्थीनग्रथयितुं खण्डनं प्रारिप्सुश्चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थैरभिमानमनवधीयमानमवधीर्यमानसमेकतानतामानिनाय। तथा च श्रीवाराणस्यां मुक्तिक्षेत्रेऽनुभूतपरब्रह्मस्वरूपे गङ्गावर्शनाविना धर्मकर्ममध्यमध्यासीनो वृष्टिपुरःस्थितायतमेरुशिखरसमसौवर्णनिष्कराशिदर्शनेन वशीकृतार्थपुरुषार्थ(:) कृतार्थः। षोडशवर्षाभिर्यौवनवतीभिरपूर्वलावण्यसम्पत्तिभिः स्नानोद्वर्तनभोजनाद्युपचारचतुराभिः प्रमदाभिः परिचर्यमाणतया किङ्करीकृतकामपुरुषार्थः। एवं चतुर्भिरपि पुरुषार्थैरनक्षिप्तहृदयतया ग्रन्थं निर्माय तद्ग्रन्थान् खण्डयन् युक्तिभिः खण्डशः खण्डितवान्। तत्र च कर्कशतर्कोवर्कत्वाच्छृङ्गारादिरसप्रधानानामपरितोषं संभाव्य तदावर्जनाय रसप्रधानं काव्यमिदं चकार ॥
—Reproduced from Bühler's article in JBBRAS, Vol. XI (1875), pp. 285 f. Also *Cf.* JNC. Appendix 4.

account of Śrīharṣa given by Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita is full of flamboyance of thought and expression. It is however remarkable for the close resemblance of its ideas with the contents of the last concluding stanza excepting the first pāda.[46] It appears that Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita's account is only an ornate amplification of the information contained in the last three *pādas* of that concluding stanza. That this account is indebted to the final concluding stanza is shown by Cāṇḍū's omission of any reference to the Cintāmaṇimantra's effective influence in Śrīharṣa's life as attested by the *Nc.* itself and by the account in the *Prabandhakośa.* This account of Cāṇḍū, therefore, has no independent value, though it serves as a proof that the final concluding stanza was known to him.[47]

26. Gadādhara, another commentator (not later than 1444 A.D.)[48] places Śrīharṣa at the court of Govindacandra at Vārāṇasī. He states that Śrīharṣa kept aloof from creative literature and pursued the path of knowledge and reasoning for the attainment of the highest Brahman. In course of time he found that he was being ridiculed as 'a cheerless desert-land' by the fellow members in the royal court for his lack of interest in the sweetness of poetry and composed the *Nc.* replete with the erotic sentiment and presented it to his patron, the king. The king signified his appreciation by offering him two seats in the assembly, one among learned scholars and another among poets! He also bestowed on him the favour of a pair of

46. For the stanza, cf. para. 6.

47. Cāṇḍū might have omitted the reference to the contents of the first *pāda* (ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च लभते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात।) Because it had no relevance in his brief account.

48. *Cf.* JNC, pp. 42 ff and Appendix 4(3).

betel-rolls and the title 'Kavipaṇḍita.'[49] This account of Gadādhara appears to supplement that of Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita in as much as it attempts to show how Śrīharṣa won the enviable favours of his patron. The narrative attempts to amplify the statement made in the first *pāda* of the final concluding stanza: it goes one better and generously offers not only two betel-rolls (*Tāmbūla-dvayam*) but also two seats (*āsanadvayam*) instead of one which the concluding stanza modestly claims! Like Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, Gadādhara also gives an account which is inspired and therefore cannot have any independent value. It would appear that Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita and Gadādhara between themselves have amplified the contents of the last concluding stanza.

27. The account given by Vidyāpati (early part of the 15th century) places Śrīharṣa in Bengal and states that he went to Vārāṇasī to show his poem '*Nalacarita*' to the Paṇḍitas there. He met a Paṇḍita Koka who, while walking along, listened to the poem which Śrīharṣa was asked to recite day by day. Śrīharṣa was naturally disappointed and once questioned Koka why he was indifferent to his

49. *Cf.* इति ह श्रूयते। वाणा(रा)र(ण)स्यां गोविन्दचन्द्रो नाम राजा बभूव। यथाऽस्तीन्द्रोऽमरावत्याम्। तस्य सेनायां बहवः पण्डिता बभवुः। मण्डिताः सद्गुणौघेन। तेषु च सर्वेषु श्रीहर्षः पर्यन्मण्डनम्। यः किल कृतवान् खण्डनम्। स पुनः सर्वज्ञः खलु विमृश्य तारतम्यं बु(च्)छायसरसां निकटतरवर्तिधर्मार्थकामग्रामगामिनीं साहित्यसरणिमनावृत्य वि(च्)छायविरसे दूरतरवर्तिपरमपदगामिनि प्रमाणमार्गे लग्नः। तं च यथावसरमनुसरन्तं नृपसंसदमपरे मत्सरिणः प्रथमोपगताः साहित्यरसालतरुवनंमन्याः परस्पराऽऽस्यवीक्षापुरःसरमुपहसन्ति स्म प्रतिवासरं 'सम्प्राप्तोऽयं तर्कशमीतरुपुरसन्निवेशः साक्षान्मरुरेव देश' इति। एकदा तु सहसोपस्थितेन तेन ते लिङ्गैरुल्लिङ्गिताः स्वमनसंधाय ध्यायन्तः किमपि विसदृशं गूढम्। पृष्टश्च कश्चन तत्समीपवर्ती स्वाप्तः 'किमेतेषां वष्टा दीनामीदृशविचेष्टनम्' इति। कथितं च तेन तत्सर्वं तस्मै यथावदानपूर्व्या। अथाऽसौ विद्वानभिमानवान् किलैतत्किमपि शृङ्गाररसधाम नलचरितनामसमुद्रवदनाख्यं महाकाव्यं विनिर्माय न्यवेदयत्तस्मै नृपाय प्रत्यक्षदेवाय। ततश्च विद्वानेष विशेषविदुषस्तस्मात्सुप्रसन्नात् तर्कवेदिष्वेकं साहित्यवेदिष्वेकमिति सबहुमानमासनद्वयं लभते स्म ताम्बूलद्वयं च 'कविपण्डित' इति च नामान्तरं लेभे।

प्रथमतश्चास्य कवेः काव्यमिदं निर्मातुमिच्छतः 'कोऽत्र जगति तथाविधः खलु धीरललितः क्षितिपतिरभूद् यमहमिह जितसुधारसकथं कथानायकं करोमि' इति भूयश्चिरं चिन्तयतः सम्यगुपासितस्य चिन्तामणिमन्त्रस्य प्रसादाद्यः किलाऽर्थोऽन्तः प्रास्फुरत् स एव 'निपीय' (नैषधीयचरितम् १.१) इत्यादावादिमश्लोके बहिरुपनिबद्धः॥

—Reproduced from JNC, Appendix 4,

poem which he had been reciting to him with such great expectation. Thereupon Koka replied that he was listening to every word—and he repeated every stanza word by word—but was reserving his remarks until the poem was completed. Śrīharṣa was pleased with the critical appreciation of his poem offered by Koka.[50] The first thing to note is that this account which speaks of Śrīharṣa going to Vārāṇasī for a critical assessment of his work by scholars there is at variance not only with other accounts of earlier writers like Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita and contemporaries like Rājaśekharasūri but with the statement of the signature stanza (XVI-131) in which the approbation of Kashmirian scholars is referred to as highly covetable: the signature stanza, as shown earlier, has a chronological value which cannot be lightly ignored. Secondly the extraordinary power of retention of Koka Pandita is only a variation of a similar faculty attributed to Śrīharṣa himself in the *Prabandhakośa,* according to which Śrīharṣa who was waiting to get an audience with the king of Kashmir happened to be a witness to a quarrel between two young maidens at a well over the priority to draw water and was able, when summoned to the court, to repeat the entire sequence, word for word, of the angry verbal exchanges between the two maids, even though he did not know a syllable of the Kashmiri language!

50. *Cf.* बभूव गौडविषये श्रीहर्षो नाम कविपण्डितः। स च नलचरिताभिधानं काव्यं कृत्वा .....तत्काव्यं दर्शयितुं पण्डितमण्डलीमुद्दिश्य वाराणसीं जगाम। तत्र च कोकनामानं पण्डितं श्रावयामास।.....श्रीहर्षस्तु तमनुगच्छन् पठति प्रत्यहम्। तदुत्तरं किमपि नाप्नोति। एकदा श्रीहर्षणोक्तम्—'आर्य, महाकाव्ये कृतश्रमोऽहम्। तत्परीक्षार्थं त्वामुद्दिश्य बुद्ध्या स्वदेशीयवात्सल्येन च महतो दूरादागतोऽस्मि।.....भवान्न निन्दति न चाभिनन्दति। तन्मन्ये कर्णमेव नार्पयति।' इति

कोक उवाच— 'आः, कथमहं कर्णं नार्पयामि। किन्तु सम्पूर्णं श्रुत्वा शब्दार्थयोरूहापोहेन संदर्भशद्धि ज्ञात्वा विशेषं वक्ष्यामि।.....,कोकपण्डितस्तस्य काव्यस्य गुणान् प्रस्तुत्य दोषान्समाधाय विशेषानद्योध्यतं श्रीहर्षकविराजं हृष्टमानसं कृत्वा गृहं प्रस्थापयामास।

—Reproduced from the article of N. K. Bhattacharya, Saraswati Bhavan Studies, Vol. III (1924), p. 190 note 50. Also cf. JNC. Appendix 4.

28. More significant, however, is the reason given by Śrīharṣa in Vidyāpati's account for his going all the way from Gauḍa to Vārāṇasi: "I have come from a great distance through the love of a fellow-countryman" (*svadeśīyavātsalyena ca mahato dūrādāgato'smi*). The expression '*svadeśīya-vātsalya*' can be explained in two ways: first, it may be interpreted to mean that Śrīharṣa had a regard for Koka who was his fellow-countryman (*svadeśīya*) and therefore had come to Vārāṇasi to have his poem adjudged by him. Now, this interpretation would not be valid because Vidyāpati states in the beginning that Śrīharṣa went to Vārāṇasī with a view to show his poem to the circle of Paṇḍitas there (*Paṇḍita-maṇḍalīm uddiśya*) and not Koka only. Again, Gauḍa must have enough competent Paṇḍitas whose assessment Śrīharṣa could have secured without going out to meet a Gauḍīya Paṇḍita in Vārāṇasī for the purpose. And what propriety would there be in Śrīharṣa hankering to get his poem adjudged by a fellow-countryman? Evaluation of this kind would always remain under the shadow of partiality. Therefore, the proper interpretation of the expression would be that Śrīharṣa pleads with Koka that he has come all the way from Bengal out of his regard for the scholars of Vārāṇasī to which he himself belonged. Vārāṇasī was the place where Śrīharṣa resided and it was also the chief centre of learning and scholarship. That's why he says he has returned to his home town to get his work evaluated by the learned scholars there. This would show that Śrīharṣa originally residing in Vārāṇasī had been living for some time in the Gauḍa country. Vidyāpati's account has hardly anything warranting credibility.[50a]

29. In recent times, a serious attempt has been made by Nilkamal Bhattacharya to claim Bengal as the home of

50a. *Contra* N. N. Das Gupta, *Indian Culture,* Vol. II, pp. 578.

Śrīharṣa. In an article on this subject,[51] he has collected and examined the evidence furnished by peculiar words, pronunciations, customs and usages and the Cintāmaṇi mantra in particular and has arrived at the conclusion that the author of the *Nc.* was a native of Bengal. While Bhattacharya believes that he has furnished 'evidence in abundance' to warrant his conclusion, another eminent Bengali scholar, S. K. De opines that 'the evidence is not conclusive!'[52] De refers to the arguments and conclusion of Bhattacharya again and repeats his view that the attempt is "wholly unconvincing."[53] The sharp difference of opinion of two Bengali scholars in respect of the specifically Bengali character of the evidences considered by them leaves the question open and permits a review and reassessment in a comprehensive manner. We shall now proceed to examine the arguments and evidences adduced by Bhattacharya in detail:

30. (I) *Ulūlu*:

कापि प्रमोदास्फुटनिर्जिहानवर्णेव या मङ्गलगीतिरासाम् ।
सैवाननेभ्यः पुरसुन्दरीणामुच्चैरुलूलुध्वनिरुच्चचार ॥ XIV.51

Let us first consider the remarks of the commentator Nārāyaṇa whom Bhattacharya quotes in support of his view that *Ulūlu* is restricted to Bengal only. Nārāyaṇa remarks: विवाहाद्युत्सवे स्त्रीणां धवलादिमङ्गलगीतिविशेषो गौडदेशे 'उलूलुः' इत्युच्यते । सोऽप्यव्यक्तवर्ण उच्चार्यते । स्वदेशरीतिरत्र कविनोक्ता । *i.e.* 'A kind of auspicious song like *Dhavala* sung by women on festive occasions like a marriage is called '*Ulūlu*' in the Gauḍa country; that, too, is uttered in inarticulate syllables; the poet has mentioned here a custom of his home province.' This observation of Nārāyaṇa is vague

51. See n. 1.
52. *New Indian Antiquary* II, p. 81, note 6.
53. HSL, p. 326, n. 1.

and confused and appears to be based on imagination rather than observation. For, according to him, '*Ulūlu*' is a kind of song like *Dhavala* and is to be 'uttered' or sung in inarticulate sound. *Dhavala* which he specifically mentions is an auspicious song sung by women at a marriage ceremony and is widely prevalent in Gujarat under the Prakritized name '*Dhoḷ*'. How can such songs consisting of significant words be sung without proper articulation of the syllables? It appears that Nārāyaṇa is trying to reconstruct the concept of '*Ulūlu*' on the basis of this stanza itself whose correct interpretation he seems to have missed. In this stanza, Śrīharṣa describes the ecstatic reaction of the women; they were so overwhelmed with joy at the happy event of Damayantī placing the garland round the neck of Nala that although they began to sing the ceremonial marriage songs, they could not articulate the syllables properly: this confused, halting, inarticulate singing of songs did duty for the '*Ulūlu*' sound which they would normally break into on such an occasion; there was no need for them to indulge in the '*Ulūlu*' sound.[54] Nārāyaṇa's *obiter dictum* appears to be only a generalisation on the basis of this stanza through an improper interpretation.

31. Bhattacharya explains *Ulūlu* "as a peculiar sound produced by the tongue, resorted to by women on festive occasions".[55] Handiqui explains it as 'a sound produced by women by blowing into the hollow of the palm on an auspicious occasion like a marriage.'[56] Bhattacharya comments: "Now everybody knows that the '*Ulūlu*', though extended as a thing to Assam and Orissa as well,

54. Handiqui's translation of the stanza does not make the meaning of '*Ulūlu*' clear, though his explanation of the word is very perspicuous.
55. *Op. cit.*, p. 170.
56. HNC, p. 563.

is as a name, confined to Bengal" and adds, "Experience also tells us that excepting Assam, Bengal and Orissa, nowhere else in North India is this practice to be met with. There, too, the union of the name and the thing, as observed above, is peculiar to Bengal alone."[57] He is aware of the word *Ulūlavaḥ* (*Ulūlayaḥ*), occurring in the *Atharvaveda*: पृथग्घोषा उलुलयः केतुमन्त उदीरताम् ।। III.19.6 and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3.12.3: अथ यत्तदजायत सोऽसावादित्यः । तं जायमानं घोषा उलूलवोऽनूत्तिष्ठन्ति सर्वाणि च भूतानि सर्वे च कामाः ।।[58]

However, after analysing the context and the details of the descriptions, he comes to the conclusion that these older occurrences of the word are different in sense from the one in which it is used in *Nc*. From the dimension of Geography, he is aware that the word occurs in *Jagaḍucarita* of Sarvānanda, a Jaina work from Gujarat belonging to the 14th century A.D. In course of the description of the start of the *Saṅgha* of Jagaḍushah on a pilgrimage, the following stanzas occur:

हेषाभिस्तु तुरङ्गाणां वारणानां किलारवैः ।
रथानामपि चीत्कारैर्भुजास्फोटैर्भुजाभृताम् ।।
नग्नानां षट्पदध्वानैरुलूलैर्वामचक्षुषाम् ।
सङ्घे चलति तस्याभूच्छब्दाद्वैतमयं जगत् ।।

—Cf. Bhattacharya, *ibid.*, p. 175 fn. 35.

But he remarks, "Nowhere, in the parts of India where the practice of *Ulūlu* is current, is it used on occa-

57. *Op. cit.*, p. 170f.

58. Śaṅkarācārya explains: घोषाः शब्दा उललव उरूरव विस्तीर्णरवा उदतिष्ठन् ।
Śaṅkara's phonetic restoration is correct but the meaning *Vistīrṇaravāḥ* does not take notice of the word being *Urūravāḥ* and not *Urūravaḥ*. Very probably *Urūravaḥ* is the plu. of *urūru* an intensive duplication of *uru* (wide, broad, big) like *manda-manda* etc. Thus *urūravaḥ ghoṣāḥ* = *atimahāntaḥ ativistīrṇāḥ vā ghoṣāḥ*.

sions of pilgrimage. This short-coming only shows that the author's information was second-hand. Or, even admitting that the practice was prevalent in Gujarat at the time of the author or his hero, it cannot affect our position until we meet with an exact parallel to the case we meet with in the *Naiṣadha* and even then the other evidences that have been adduced will run counter."[59] These remarks are specious and betray a committed mind. Bhattacharya's observations in regard to the occurrence of this word in other—earlier—works ignore the basic fact that words continue to undergo morphic and semantic evolution with the passage of time. His contention was not valid even when it was made; today it stands thoroughly invalidated by the evidence adduced by Handiqui that the word '*Ulūlu*' occurs in literary works outside Bengal. Murāri, probably a Kashmirian, has used the word in the *Anargharāghava* in connection with the marriage of Sītā:

वैदेहीकरबन्धमङ्गलयजुः सूक्तं द्विजानां मुखे
नारीणां च कपोलकन्दलतले श्रेयानुलूलुध्वनिः ।। III.55[60]

It also occurs in the *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, a Mahākāvya in sixteen cantos, composed by Vastupāla, the well-known statesman and *litterateur* of Gujarat who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. Here, too, the word occurs in connection with the marriage of Subhadrā and Arjuna: मुदितमृगाक्षीमण्डलोलूलुनादः ।[61]

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

60. Rucipati commenting on the stanza says that Ulūlu is a sound made by women of the South on an occasion like a marriage. Cf.
'उलउली' इति प्रसिद्धः दक्षिणदेशे विवाहाद्यवसरे स्त्रीभिरुलूलुध्वनिः क्रियत इत्याचारः ।
Mallinātha describes it as a custom prevalent in the North (*udīcyānāmācāraḥ*).

61. *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, XV.17.
अथ मुदितमृगाक्षीमण्डलोलूलुनाद
द्विजततियदुभक्तिप्राप्तहस्तावलम्बः ।।

Amaracandra, a contemporary of Vastupāla, uses this word in the course of the description of the marriage of the Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha in his *Padmānanda Mahākāvya*:

इन्द्राण्युलूलुविलसत्प्रतिशब्दपूरै-
र्निःशेषदिङ्मुखभवद्ध्वलानुवादः ॥[62]

Now that ample cases which are 'an exact parallel' to the case we meet with in the *Naiṣadha* (*i.e.* occurrence of the word *Ulūlu* as a peculiar sound, produced by the tongue, resorted to by women on festive occasions) are available —and they are all in connection with a marriage (of Rāma, Arjuna and Ajitanātha), the evidence is too overwhelming for any one to insist that '*Ulūlu*' is a 'thing' confined to Bengal or its neighbouring territories.[63]

Further, Handiqui believes that the word is onomatopoetic in origin[64] and cites examples from Greek and Latin in support of his view.[65]

32. (II) *Conch Bangles*: *Nc.* XV.45 reads:

उपास्यमानाविव शिक्षितुं ततो मृदुत्वमप्रौढमृणालनालया ।
रराजतुर्माङ्गलिकेन सङ्गतौ भुजौ सुदत्या वलयेन कम्बुनः ॥

Śrīharṣa states here that Damayantī put on auspicious conch-bangles as part of her nuptial attire. Bhattacharya says that wearing of conch-bangles is a Bengali custom: he goes further to assert that "this, too, as the writer has come to learn from his investigation, is characteristic of Bengal alone."[66] As in the case of *Ulūlu* here, too, he tries

62. IX.68.
63. The word occurs in the *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritam* of Hemacandra, an author earlier than Śrīharṣa. See JNC, p. 101 n. 15.
It is possible that the word originally meant a spontaneous shout of joy, curiosity and wonder at some happy occurrence but came to have a restricted meaning later on.
64. *Cf.* NHC, p. 535. Bhattacharya, too, believes it to be 'purely of an onomatopoetic character.' *Op. cit.*, p. 177.
65. *Cf.* JNC, p. 101, n. 15 where 'the prevalence of the custom' among Negroes is referred to.
66. *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

to draw support from the commentator Nārāyaṇa's remark that "wearing of conch-bangles by the bride at marriage is a practice prevalent in Gauḍa".

गौडदेशे विवाहकाले शङ्खवलयधारणमाचारः ।

In order to strengthen his case, he adds that 'the conch-bangle and vermilion' is a common saying for an unwidowed woman in Bengal. Lastly, he says, "Just as wearing of conch-bangles characterizes the beginning of married life, so does the breaking of them characterizes the beginning of widowhood." A description of the breaking of conch-bangles by the widows of the enemies of the king when their husbands were slain in battle by him occurs in *Nc.* XII.35:

अदःसमित्संमुखवीरयौवतत्रुटद्भुजाकम्बुमृणालहारिणी ।
द्विषद्गणस्त्रैणदृगम्बुनिर्झरे यशोमरालावलिरस्य खेलति ॥

33. Let us examine each one of the four points made by Bhattacharya about conch-bangles. We shall first deal with his attempt to derive support from Nārāyaṇa. As we have already seen in regard to the word *Ulūlu* Nārāyaṇa is hardly reliable in the matter of his *obiter dicta* of this kind. Nārāyaṇa is a Southerner, hailing from Maharashtra. He tries to credit every custom or convention not traceable to Dharmśāstra texts to popular or provincial practice; and for one who has accepted the traditional belief that Śrīharṣa was a Gauḍa, this popular or provincial practice would naturally belong to Bengal. Emeneau tries to be very fair to Nārāyaṇa in regard to his remark that this custom was a Bengali custom. Says Emeneau, "His remark on the Bengal custom may have been derived from observation, or he may be copying from an earlier Bengali or other commentator on the text. It is to be kept in mind, as a possible factor leading toward his making the statement, that he seems interested in prov-

ing that Śrīharṣa was from Bengal and in pointing to evidence for this."[67] The latter part of Emeneau's remark is not unjustified, because we have seen above how Nārāyaṇa's statement that *Ulūlu* is a custom of Bengal is based on an incorrect interpretation of the stanza and how it stands exposed as unreliable in the light of the occurrence of the word and the practice it signifies in literary compositions of practically the same age outside Bengal. That Nārāyaṇa's interest in proving Śrīharṣa as a native of Bengal is gratuitous is seen in cases other than that of *Ulūlu*, as we shall see later.

34. Wearing of conch-bangles by the bride at the marriage ceremony may be a custom prevalent in Bengal. But to assert that the wearing of such bangles by women in general was confined to that province only ignores the existence of evidence against it. Bhattacharya himself has noticed references to conch-bangles in the *Mahābhārata*[68] and the *Kādambarī*[69] but explains the first as supporting his view and the second as sinning against the auspiciousness of conch-bangles and therefore irrelevant. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*,[70] too, carries a reference to conch-bangles. In fact these references are relevant because they explicitly state what is said by implication in *Nc.* XII.35 which Bhattacharya cites in course of this discussion but from a different stand-point. This stanza refers to the breaking of the conch-bangles of the widows of the enemies of the king of Kāñcī. It implies that women

67. *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

68. *Cf.* पिनद्धकम्बुः पाणिभ्यां तृतीयां प्रकृतिं गतः।
वेणीकृताशरा राजन्नाम्ना चैव बृहन्नला ।। विराटपर्व ii.27.
अथापरोऽदृश्यत रूपसंपदा स्त्रीणामलङ्कारधरो बृहत्पुमान्।
प्रकारवप्रे प्रतिमुच्य कुण्डले दीर्घे च कम्बूपार हाटके शुभे ।। Ibid. xi.1.

69. *Cf.* इभकलभार्धोपभक्तपाततैः सरस्वतीभुजलतावगलितैः शङ्खवलयैरिव मृणालशकलः कल्माषितम्...आश्रममपश्यम्।
—*Kādambarī* (Nirṇayasagar Press), 9th Edition, 1948, p. 86.

70. *Buddhacarita*, XII.110.

wore conch-bangles in general as a matter of custom and not merely or specially at the time of the marriage ceremony. Apart from the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Kādambarī*, Emeneau has shown that wearing of conch-bangles was prevalent practically all over the country.[71] Bhattacharya's belief that 'conch-bangles and vermilion' in reference to the unwidowed state of a woman is peculiar to Bengal is not justified because '*cūḍi-cāndalo*' (bangles and vermilion mark) is a symbol for a woman's married state in Gujarat and, one may be sure, there must be similar expressions in other provinces, too. Nor is the breaking of bangles as a mark of the commencement of widowhood confined to Bengal. In Gujarat (and probably elsewhere also) there can be no better blessing to a woman than to say, '*Tāro cūḍī cāndalo amar raho!*' (May thy bangles-vermilion endure for ever!) and no worse imprecation than to say, '*Tāro cūḍalo bhāṅgo!*" (May thy bangles break!). There is really nothing provincial in this custom or the sentiment behind it.

35. However, it must be noted that the description of putting on conch-bangles by the bride as part of her nuptial attire is given by Śrīharṣa in regard to the princess of the Vidarbha country; similarly the breaking of the bangles of the widows of the enemies of the king of Kāñcī does not necessarily refer to the women of Bengal. Bhattacharya's explanation that Śrīharṣa has extended the peculiar custom of Bengal to other provinces, even if accepted, cannot prove that the poet was a native of Bengal. For it is well-known that poets of the later classical period generally strive for some striking point or thought or expression or conceit and are hardly concerned about the authenticity of detail in their descriptions of flora or fauna, usage or custom. Everything is grist to the mill of their poetic

71. *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

composition, irrespective of its factual relevance, provided they could achieve some striking turn of thought or expression thereby. This is likely to be true of Śrīharṣa who was connected with royal courts at Kanouj, Vārāṇasī, Gauḍa and Kashmir. His visits to these places or regions under royal patronage must have afforded him opportunities to be acquainted with the customs, beliefs and practices of the people to a larger or smaller extent. It would be natural for him to utilize this information in his poetical work for achieving striking or clever effect, without any regard for authenticity or factual relevance. It is quite obvious that the two stanzas in which the conch-bangles are referred to are highly artificial in conception and expression. The reference to this custom may have its origin in Bengal, but it cannot prove, in the absence of more definite evidence, that Śrīharṣa's home province was Bengal.

36. Lastly, Bhattacharya states, "..our poet (Śrīharṣa) was not only an inhabitant of the country of conch-bangles, but was also conversant with the art 'of fashioning conch-bangles'" and cites *Nc.* XIX.57.[72] Commenting on Śrīharṣa's knowledge of the bracelet-making industry, Emeneau says, 'As it is conducted in Bengal at present, the conch shells are cut up into sections which later can be finished into bracelets by polishing and inscribing with patterns. The implement used in cutting them up is a peculiar saw of "a deep crescentic form. This saw is referred to in *Naiṣadhacarita,* 19.57". Emeneau has reproduced a diagram of a conch saw as used in a workshop in Dacca. However, the industry of conch-bangles has been proved by archaeological evidence to have been prevalent all over the country—in the South

72. ताराशङ्खविलोपकस्य जलजं तीक्ष्णत्विषो भिन्दतः
सारम्भं चलता करेण निबिडां निष्पीडनां लम्भितः।
छेदार्थोपहृताम्बुकम्बुजरजोजम्बालपाण्डूभव-
च्छङ्खच्छित्करपत्रतामिह वहन्नस्तंगतार्धो विधुः॥

Indian areas, Kathiawar and Gujarat. In fact, the custom of wearing conch-bangles and the existence of centres for manufacturing of conch-bangles are so widely distributed that Emeneau remarks, 'In sum, we are dealing with what was formerly a custom widespread in India, if not pan-Indic'.[73]

37. (III) *Tying of the hands of the bride and the bridegroom with a string of Darbha grass.* *Nc.* XVI. 14 says. "In that Vidarbha country governed by a good king, the hands of the bridegroom and the bride were tied with tough Kuśa blades—was it because the hand of the groom aspired to kill others (enemies) and that of the bride stole the beauty of a lotus!"[74] Bhattacharya remarks that this "is no scriptural injunction, but a usage, prevalent in Bengal, and, so far as I have been able to learn from investigation, in Bengal only."[75] Nārāyaṇa observes, 'The marriage ceremony took place accompanied by the tying of Kuśa on the hands of both' and 'Tying of the hand with Kuśa is a local custom:'

'उभयहस्तयोः कुशबन्धनपूर्वं पाणिग्रहणमभूत्।.....कुशैः पाणिबन्धनं देशाचारः।' It may be noted that Nārāyaṇa considers tying of the hands with Kuśa a local custom but remains uncommitted as regards the identity of the locality: one may, if one would, understand by implication that he must have Bengal in his mind. However, it would be natural to believe that the local custom must be one prevalent in the Vidarbha country which is mentioned by name in the stanza. Perhaps, this is the reason why Nārāyaṇa has chosen to remain silent on the identity of the country. Obviously, Bhattacharya would not be justified in claim-

73. *Op. cit.,* p. 99.

74. वरस्य पाणिः परभागकौतुकी वधूकरः पङ्कजकान्तितस्करः।
सुराजि तौ तत्र विवर्धमण्डले ततो निबद्धौ किमु कर्कशैः कुशैः॥

75. *Op. cit.,* p. 172.

ing that Nārāyaṇa believed this custom to be prevalent in Bengal only.

Notwithstanding the remark of Nārāyaṇa that this is a local custom and Bhattacharya's statement that it is no scriptural injunction, it should be noted that the custom of tying the hands of the bride and the bridegroom with a cord of *Kuśa* may be only a local variation of a practice which is known to *Smṛti* literature. For instance, the *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra,* while giving a description of the marriage ceremony, says that 'The priest draws together the two ends (of garments?) and ties them into a knot with a cord of *Darbha*'.[76]

38. (IV) *Ālepana.* Bhattacharya believes that *Nc.* XV.12 refers to the custom of painting the walls and the floors of a house with rice-powder on the occasion of a marriage (here, the marriage of Damayantī) and states that this is a custom prevalent in Bengal on festive occasions. As a matter of fact, the word '*ālepana*' occurs twice in the *Nc.*—in II.26 and XV.12. In II.26,[77] the moon is fancied as a clay-bowl (*vardhamānakam*) used yantī's face. This clay-bowl is described as 'white with a by Brahmā for honouring the superior beauty of Dama-smear'—*ālepana-pāṇḍura.* Nārāyaṇa explains *ālepana* as *piṣṭodakam* and remarks that it was a popular custom to wave a clay-bowl smeared with cow-dung and marked with flour etc. clockwise round the face of a person in order to ward off the evil eye.[78]

76. Ramgopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (1959), p. 228.

77. धृतलाञ्छनगोमयाञ्चनं विधमालेपनपाण्डुरं विधिः।
भ्रमयत्यचितं विदर्भजाननीराजनवर्धमानकम् ॥
See HNC, Notes, p. 364.

78. Cf. गोमयलिप्तेन चूर्णादिचिह्नितेन शरावेण दृष्टिदोषनिवारणार्थं नीराजना क्रियत इति लोकाचारः Both Nārāyaṇa and Narahari remark on *ālepana* अईपण इति लोके प्रसिद्धम् ।

In XV.12,[79] '*Tadālepana-dāna*' is explained variously by the different commentators:

Vidyādhara:

तदा विवाहसमये क्वचिद् आलेपनस्य सुधादेः दानं धवलनम् ।

Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita:

'तस्या दमयन्त्या आलेपनदाने उद्वर्तनकरणे... ।'

Īśānadeva:

'आलेपनं हरिद्रया मिश्रितं तण्डुलपिष्टम्... ।' and

Nārāyaṇa:

(i) तदा नलागमनसमये क्वचित्स्थाने लेपनदाने सुधालेपचित्रादिकर्मणि.. ।

(ii) चतुष्कनिर्माणार्थं हरिद्राचूर्णमिश्रितं तण्डुलपिष्टं तस्य दाने आलेपनकरणे ।

(iii) क्वचिद्विजने रमणीये वा प्रदेशे तस्या भैम्या आलेपनदाने अङ्गोद्वर्तने कुशलेति वा । तयोर्भैमीनलयोर्वा ।

The three alternative interpretations given by Nārāyaṇa are not different from those given by Vidyādhara, Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita or Īśānadeva. None of the interpretations, it will be noticed, deviates from the root meaning of the word *ālepana,* √*lip* to smear. Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita is a native of Gujarat; his explanation is based on the custom, not necessarily confined to Gujarat, of smearing the body of the bride—as well as of the bridegroom—with a paste whose main ingredient is turmeric on the eve of the marriage day. This interpretation, valid as it is, is less likely in the context. Vidyādhara's interpretation accepted optionally by Nārāyaṇa is based on the custom of drawing geometrical or floral designs by ladies on the floor of the *maṇḍapa* for marriage and of the dining hall where the groom's party is to be served the festive dinner. This is a festive and therefore universal custom, widely prevalent in Gujarat. The material used may be rice-powder

79. क्वचित्तदालेपनदानपण्डिता कमप्यहङ्कारमगात्पुरस्कृता ।
अलम्भितुङ्गासनसंनिवेशनावपूपनिर्माणविबन्धयादरः ॥

mixed with turmeric powder or mere lime-stone power.[80] The *Ālepana* of Bengal is a cultivated form of the art of drawing designs or patterns of the floor on festive occasions like its counter-part, *Raṅgāvali* (*Rāṅgoḷī*), in Maharashtra.

39. (V) In the course of the description of the bridegroom's decoration for the marriage ceremony, Nala is said to be resplendent with a crown studded with costly gems set on his head.[81] It is strange that Bhattacharya should consider wearing of a crown by the bridegroom a custom peculiar to Bengal. Wearing of crowns or coronets, decorated caps or turbans with crests is a part of the make-up of bridegrooms practically all over the country. Equally unjustified is Bhattacharya's belief that holding of a mirror in front of the bridegroom before he sets out for the bride's home for the marriage ceremony is a practice restricted to Bengal. *Nc.* XV.70 states that Nala was able to see his entire nuptial make-up reflected in the mass of jewels worn all over the body and therefore he did not have to use the mirror offered by the attendants.[82] This practice may have been functional in origin with a view to enable the bridegroom to satisfy himself that his nuptial attire, rich as it would be, was also neat and trim: but in course of time it may have degenerated into something of a ritual. Nārāyaṇa's explanation[83] that the holding of a mirror by clever servants like the barber to enable Nala to see his reflection therein was rendered unnecessary by the jewels he was wearing

80. *Cf.* JNC., p. 105, n. 22.

81. अनर्घ्यरत्नौघमयेन मण्डितो रराज राजा मुकुटेन मूर्धनि।
वनीपकानां स हि कल्पभूरुहस्ततो विमुञ्चन्निव मञ्जमञ्जरीम् ॥—*Nc.* XV.60.

82. घने समस्तापघनावलम्बिनां विभूषणानां मणिमण्डले नलः।
स्वरूपरेखामवलोक्य निष्फलीचकार सेवाचणदर्पणार्पणाम् ॥

83. *Cf.* सेवया वित्ताः प्रसिद्धाः सेवाचणाः सेवाचतुरा नापितादयस्तेषां
दर्पणार्पणां प्रतिबिम्बदर्शनार्थं मकुरार्पणां निष्फलीचकार।

is interesting. In Gujarat[83a] it has been a common custom for the bridegroom to look into a mirror held before him by the barber (or someone else) who discharged the further duty of walking by the side of the groom on horseback or in a vehicle waving a decorative fan to impart regal dignity to the Vara-rājā (the bridegroom king), as he proceeds to the bridal hall for marriage. Of course, these customs are fast fading out in modern times.

40. (VI) After the marriage ceremony was over, the newly wedded couple, Nala and Damayantī, entered a bridal chamber provided with a thousand holes for ladies of the house to peep through![84] 'Here the two not eating to their fill or watching each other's movements through coyness, slept for three nights as prescribed by the Śāstras, with longing but avoiding enjoyment'.[85] Bhattacharya sees here a reference to the custom in Bengal according to which, soon after marriage, the wedded couple enter "a room specially designed for the occasion, in which they are to pass the night in company with their friends."[86] Jani adds that "this room is called Bāśarghar" and the practice "of looking into the room through the holes, resorted to by the young friends of the bride" is called 'Āḍipātā' in Bengali.[87] This is clear enough. But one or two points require mention in this connection. Just as there is the Smṛti injunction for the newly married couple to pass three nights together without intercourse, there is also an injunction that soon after marriage the couple

83a. *Cf.* कलितसकलभूषागौरवं कौरवोऽसौ
स्फटिकमुकुरबिम्बे लम्बमानं निरूप्य।
वपुरनुपमरूपश्रीसमुद्रं सुभद्रा-
नयननलिनपात्रीकर्तुमत्युत्सुकोऽभूत् ॥ नरनारायणानन्द, XV.15.

84. स कौतुकागारमगात्पुरंध्रिभिः सहस्ररन्ध्रीकृतमीक्षितं ततः।
अधात्सहस्राक्षतनुत्रमित्रतामधिष्ठितं यत्खलु जिष्णुनामुना ॥ —*Nc.* XVI.46.

85. तथाशनाया निरशेषि नो ह्रिया न सम्यगालोकि परस्परक्रिया।
विमुक्तसंभोगमशायि सस्पृहं वरेण वध्वा च यथाविधि त्र्यहम् ॥ —*Nc.* XVI.47.

86. *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

87. JNC, p. 105, n. 23.

should enter a Brahmin's house for the first night.[88] The custom in Bengal may have its origin in this Smṛti injunction. Śrīharṣa may have utilized this injunction and practice for the exercise of his poetic imagination. The reference to a thousand holes is too studied as the latter half of the stanza would testify. In any case, younger members of the family and friends trying to peep through holes or play mild practical jokes as the married couple enter the bed chamber on the first night is a practice not confined to Bengal; it is prevalent in Gujarat, for instance. In fact, this practice is indicative of the gaiety and fun attending the marriage celebration and may have helped the couple to stick to the letter of the Smṛti injunction!

41. (VII) In canto XVI, the description of the marriage feast contains references to niceties of meat and fish.[89] Bhattacharya states that "the nicety of fish and flesh is a notable feature of Bengal. Excepting Kashmir, nowhere in India does a fish meal constitute a prominent part of a banquet like Bengal. 'Fish and rice' (*māch-bhāt*) is a byword with the Bengali, and the same has its exact counterpart in our poet's '*Annamīna*' (XIV.78)."[90] Let us first check up the description of the marriage feast in regard to the 'niceties of fish and flesh.' It will be noticed that while different preparations of meat are mentioned again and again, the fish is referred to only once and that too as providing one of the many varieties of 'Temana'.[91] In fact, the reference to fish strikes one as casual only. Many other palatable preparations are

88. *Cf.* Ramgopal, *India in Vedic Kalpasūtras*, p. 240.
Śrīharṣa's description is an amalgamation of this injunction and that regarding the observance of celibacy for the first three nights. Bhattacharya has not clearly stated whether the custom in Bengal is observed for three nights or one night only.

89. *Cf.* XVI.76, 81, 82, 87.

90. *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

91. अराधि यन्मीनमृगाजपत्रिजैः पलैर्मृदु स्वादु सुगन्धि तेमनम् ।
अशाकि लोके कुत एव जेमितुं न तत्तु संख्यातुमपि स्म शक्यते ॥

described in some detail; but there is no similar description of a 'nicety of fish'. On the other hand, steaming flavoured rice (*odana*) is described in detail in a stanza[92] and is mentioned again and again. No mention whatever is found of rice and fish (*māch-bhāt*) together, on which Bhattacharya lays so much emphasis in support of his view. The occurrence of the words '*anna-mīna*' together in XIV.78 is looked upon almost as a trump card by Bhattacharya, but it in no way supports his contention. For one thing, that phrase does not occur in the course of the detailed description of the marriage feast but is found in the description of the boon which the god Agni bestows upon Nala at the time of Damayantī's *svayaṃvara*. The fire-god says, "Food, fish, drinks and the like, may they, prepared by thee, surpass nectar in taste. King, I know thy searching nature with regard to the culinary art."[93]

The intention of the Fire-god is to bless the expertise of Nala in the preparation of all types of foods and drinks and not merely particular preparation. '*Anna*' therefore stands for vegetarian foods '*Mīna*' for non-vegetarian and '*rasa*' for all kinds of liquid preparations. Moreover, it is not proper to detach '*anna-mīna*' from '*anna-mīna-rasādi*' and attempt to invest the expression with a narrow or limited sense which obviously it does not possess. Besides, '*anna*' cannot be restricted in denotation to rice only because Śrīharṣa has all along used the word '*odana*' or '*Kūra*' to signify rice in the course of the description of the marriage feast.[94] On the other hand, he has used the word '*anna*' only once in XIV.78 where it means varieties

92. अमी लसद्धाष्पमखण्डिताखिलं वियुक्तमन्योन्यममुक्तमार्दवम् ।
रसोत्तरं गौरमपीवरं रसादभुञ्जतामोदनमोदनं जनाः ॥—XVI.68.

93. अस्तु त्वया साधितमन्नमीनरसादि पीयूषरसातिशायि ।
यद् भूप विप्रस्तव सूपकारक्रियासु कौतूहलशालि शीलम् ॥
English Tr. from Handiqui.

94. *Cf.* XVI.68 quoted in n. 92. Also *cf.* XVI.80, 91. For *Kūra* (boiled rice—Handigui), *cf.* XVI.79, 91, 107.

of food in general and not merely rice. However, the most curious part of Bhattacharya's argument is his view that niceties of fish and flesh are typical of Bengal only: and this despite the fact that texts like the *Manusmṛti* have given detailed rules about the kinds of birds and beasts and fish whose flesh is permitted or phohibited for eating![95] Nor is the rest of India (except Kashmir and Bengal) known to have gone totally vegetarian!

42. (VIII) 'Vermilion is a close associate of the hair-parting of a married woman (whose husband is living) in Bengal, and our poet's predilection for this custom of Bengal has led him to introduce the thing - even in Vidarbha where saffron is current'. Bhattacharya makes this observation on the basis of *Nc.* XV.55 which states that the wives of kings who had come to attend the festival at Bhīma's capital bowed to Damayantī and carried the lac-dye on her feet on their heads as if it was the auspicious vermilion (on their heads) guaranteeing the long life of their husbands. It is possible to concede Bhattacharya's contention that applying vermilion on the parting line of the hair on the head by ladies is a custom prevalent in Bengal only, though as noted earlier it does not necessarily indicate that Śrīharṣa belonged to Bengal. Bhattacharya's reference to *Nc.* II.27 or II.90 does not help, because neither of the two stanzas, mentioning saffron, mentions it in relation to its use on the parting of the hair; application of saffron paste for decorative purposes by ladies is a general Indian custom.

43. (IX) Bhattacharya points at peculiarities of pronunciation, use of alliteration and fondness for rhyme noticeable in the *Nc.* and asserts that all these characteristics indicate that Śrīharṣa was a native of Bengal. Let

95. *Cf. Manusmṛti* V.11ff.

us consider the rather detailed statement of Bhattacharya in this respect.

He observes: "The Bengali tongue, it should be known, observes no distinction in the pronunciation of the three sibilants (*ś, ṣ, s*); the letters, *ṇ, v,* and *y* (the last when it begins a word) are in Bengali invariably pronounced like, *n, b,* and *j* respectively; the *ṣ* in *kṣ* is treated invariably as kh (khy); the *visarga* is conspicuous by shortness and there are other such peculiarities holding the Bengali tongue as distinct from others. This trend of our poet has revealed itself through his alliterations. Our poet is exceedingly fond of alliteration. There is hardly a verse where alliteration has not its share and in most places it partakes of the character of an analogue (*Yamaka*) and so cannot be slighted. This fondness of our poet for alliteration or any verbal feat having transcended his poetry has made itself felt even in his philosophy. Two quotations are made from the *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa*:

(1) तदद्वैतश्रुतेस्तावद् बाधः प्रत्यक्षतः क्षतः ।
नानुमानादि तं कर्तुं तवापि क्षमते मते ॥
अद्वैतागमनासीरे साधु सा धुन्वती परान् ।
सेवामेवार्जयत्यर्थापत्तिपत्तिपरम्परा ॥

(2) समस्तलोकशास्त्रैकमत्यमाश्रित्य नृत्यतोः ।
का तदस्तु गतिस्तत्तद्वस्तुधीव्यवहारयोः ॥

Under such circumstances we may reasonably conclude that wherever the adoption of the Bengali mode of pronunciation gives us prominent cases of alliteration, analogue-ridden or otherwise, that is there the pronunciation intended by the poet. The truth of this will be ascertained from the following illustrations:

(1) श् ष् स्—अमी ततस्तस्य विभूषितं सितम् । (I. 57)
अयोगभाजोऽपि नृपस्य पश्यता । (I. 100)

सखाः सखायः स्त्रवदश्रवो मम। (I. 156)
कटु कीटान् दशतः सतः क्वचित्। (II. 4)
अज्ञासिषुः स्त्रीशिशुबालिशास्तं। (X. 32)
बालामभाषत सभासततप्रगल्भा। (XI. 16)
अश्वैरस्वैरवेगैः। (XII. 100)
नाश्नाति स्नाति हा मोहात्। (XVII. 41)
ज्ञानस्पर्शान्तिरा मौनमानशे मानसेविनी। (XX. 13)
विस्त्राणि विश्राणितवान् पितृभ्यः। (XXII. 50)

(2) ज्, य्—मनस्तु यं नोज्झतु जातु यातु (III. 59)
उपेयमाधुर्यमधैर्यसर्जि (VI. 93)
मनुष्यजन्मन्यपि यन्मनो जने (IX. 34)
यातुं ततो जातु न यातुधानः (X. 11)
तरुपत्रजन्मा यन्मारुतः (XI. 39)
जागर्ति योगेश्वरः (XII. 38)
यज्ञयूपधनां जज्ञौ (XXII. 172?)

(3) ण्, न्—पुण्येन मन्ये पुनरन्यजन्म (VIII. 33)
स्फुरद्भिरानन्दमहार्णवैर्नवैः (XII. 2)
अमूनि मऽन्येमरनिर्झरिण्या (XXII. 21)

(4) ब, व्—कुलं सुधांशोर्बहलं वहन्बहु (I. 110),
स्मरहरः किममुं बुभुजे विभुः (IV. 60),
बुबुधिरे विबुधेन्द्राः (V. 60),
त्रिविबुधी बुबुधे न (V. 72),
स विलोक्य बालाम् (VI. 13),
संबिभ्रति श्रोत्रियविभ्रमं यत् (VII. 100),
क्षये जगज्जीवपिबं शिवं वदन् (IX. 124)

(5) क्ष्—नलस्य च स्वस्य च सख्यमीक्षते (I.38),
अभिख्याभिक्षाधुना (VII. 104),
तव सौख्यलक्ष्यः (XI. 108),
आचख्यौ चाक्षिपन्नमुम् (XVII. 92),
सख्यौ सक्षौमभावेऽपि (XX. 129)।

(6) *Visarga*—(The peculiarity attaching to the *visarga* is prominent in the analogue alone. Hence that alone is considered here):

आगत्य भूतः सफलो भवत्या भावप्रतीत्या गुरुलोभवत्याः। (III.115)
तं संवदत्यङ्कमृगस्य नाभिकस्तूरिका सौरभवासनाभिः। (XXII. 86).

(7) Miscellaneous: स राशिरासीन्महसांमहोज्ज्वलः (I. 1),
असंवरे शंबरवैरिविक्रमे (I. 53),
अबाह्यमिज्यते (II. 78),
आसन्ननायकविषण्णमुखानुमेयः (XI. 12),
पङ्कजसख्यशिक्षा (XI. 102),
सृणीपदसुचिह्ना श्रीः (XX. 58),
अङ्कस्थितसज्जशय्यम् (XXII. 2).

Like his fondness for alliteration his fondness for rhyme too is so distinctly manifest in the *Naiṣadha* that it may be called a regular mania of the poet. A few examples may be quoted:

धार्यः कथंकारमहं भवत्या वियद्विहारी वसुधैकगत्या। (III. 15)
अशक्यशङ्काव्यभिचारहेतुर्वाणी न वेदा यदि सन्तु के तु। (III. 78)
अपां हि तृप्ताय न वारिधारा स्वादुः सुगन्धिः स्वदते तुषारा। (III. 93)
तं कापि मेने स्मरमेव कन्या भेजे मनोभूवशभूयमन्या। (VIII. 6)
जातौ न वित्ते न गुणे न कामः सौन्दर्य एव प्रवणः स वामः (X. 13)
मध्येसभं सावततार बाला गन्धर्वविद्याधरकण्ठनाला।
त्रयीमयीभूतवलीविभङ्गा साहित्यनिर्वर्तितदृक्तरङ्गा॥ (X. 73)

Such examples are profuse, not only in the *Naiṣadha*, but also in the *Khaṇḍana* so poor in verses. It is, therefore, no wonder that the influence of the Bengali tongue will be perceived in this rhyme too. Thus we have:

वचसामपि गोचरो न यः स तमानन्दमविन्दत द्विजः। (II. 1)
आत्थितावितथतागुणपाशस्त्वादृशा स विदुषा दुरपासः। (V. 135)
तस्मिन्विषज्यार्धपथात्तपातं तदङ्गरागच्छुरितं निरीक्ष्य।
विस्मेरतामापुरविस्मरन्त्यः क्षिप्तं मिथः कन्दुकमिन्दुमुख्यः॥ (VI. 42)

छायासु रूपं भुवि वीक्ष्य तस्य फलं दृशोरानशिरे महिष्यः। (VI. 43)
चन्द्राधिकैतन्मुखचन्द्रिकाणां दरायतं तत् किरणाद् घनानाम्।(VII. 44)
यस्य कीर्तिरवदायति स्म सा
कार्त्तिकीतिथिनिशीथिनीस्वसा। (XVIII. 22)
कार्तवीर्यभिदुरेण दशास्ये रैणुकेय भवता सुखनाश्ये। (XXI.68)"[96]

44. The above extract is reproduced in full in order to present the measure of Bhattacharya's argument. The facts of Śrīharṣa's poetic composition as marshalled by him are all there; but in his attempt to interpret them, he appears to have set his face sternly against the consideration of relevant aspects of the problem. For one thing, to be sure, Bhattacharya cannot be unaware of the conventions of the rhetoricians in regard to the non-difference or equivalence of certain sounds in poetical composition, particularly for various kinds of alliterative and rhyming effects. De's objection that "the indiscriminate use, in alliteration and chiming, of the three sibilants, the two nasals, '*b*' and '*v*', '*y*' and '*j*' as sounds of equivalent value is not definitely conclusive, as it is sanctioned by rhetoricians"[97] is pertinent and fully justified. In analogue (*Yamaka*), paronomasia (*Śleṣa*) and similar technical patterns, the equivalence of the three sibilants, the two nasals, '*b*' and '*v*' and even '*ḍ*' and '*l*' is well-known and needs no elaboration. That this equivalence outside such studied poetic patterns is not confined to the *Nc.* can be seen from the following illustrations from the *Kirātārjunīyam* of Bhāravi, an ornate poem of a much earlier period:

(i) अनाविलोन्मीलितबाणचक्षुषः सपुष्पहासा वनराजियोषितः। (IV. 28)
(ii) शुकावलिर्व्यक्तशिरीषकोमला। (IV. 36)
(iii) भुजगराजसितेन नभःश्रिता। (V. 4)

96. *Op. cit.*, p. 185.
97. *New Indian Antiquary* II, p. 266, n. 6.

(iv) विगणय्य नयन्ति पौरुषम्। (II. 35)
(v) प्रकाशितत्वन्मतिशीलसाराः कृतोपकारा इव विद्विषस्ते। III. 16
(vi) स संप्रधार्यैवमहार्यसारः सारं विनेष्यन् सगणस्य शत्रोः। XVI. 25

The following quotations from the *Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya* of Vastupāla would show that the alliterative jingle is not confined to Bengal only:

(i) दृश्यः कस्यापि नायं प्रथयति न परप्रार्थनादैन्यमन्य-
स्तुच्छामिच्छां विधत्ते तनुहृदयतया कोऽपि नैपुण्यपण्यः।
—II epilogue stanza.

(ii) शास्त्रार्थवारिभरहारिहृदालवाल-
संरोपिता मलिनता वितता नितान्तम्।
यस्य प्रकाशितरविग्रहतापवद्भि-
श्छायार्थिभिर्नृपकुलैः फलदा सिषेवे॥ XVI. 6
(iii) केनापरेण परिभूततनुस्तनोति। XVI. 8
(iv) श्रीवाससद्मकरपद्मगदीपकल्पां
व्यापारिणः कति न बिभ्रति हेममुद्राम्।
प्रज्वालयन्ति जगदप्यनयैव केऽपि
येन व्यमोचि तु समस्तमिदं तमस्तः॥ XVI. 18
(v) हर्षादसौ हसतु शीतकरोऽपि भासा
भृङ्गीरुतैरपि च हुङ्कुरुतां सरोजम्।
दूरावलम्बितशिरोऽम्बरडम्बरेण
यस्या मुखं जगति न प्रकटं यदासीत्॥ XVI. 20
(vi) यात्रोत्सवेषु खलु सप्तसु पावकेषु। XVI. 23

It is not unlikely that other poetical works, too, disclose this alliterative characteristic.[98]

As far as rhyme is concerned, one would find its employment in as early a work as the *Rāmāyaṇa*: *e.g.*

(i) ततः स मध्यं गतमंशुमन्तं
ज्योत्स्नावितानं महदुद्गमन्तम्।
ददर्श धीमान् दिवि भानुमन्तं
गोष्ठे वृषं मत्तमिव भ्रमन्तम्॥ V. 4. 1. (Cr. Ed.)

98. Also cf.— स्वर्वारनारी धृतचामराली।
Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandrasūri, II.60.

(ii). सीतामपश्यन्मनुजेश्वरस्य
रामस्य पत्नीं वदतां वरस्य।
बभूव दुःखाभिहतश्चिरस्य
प्लवङ्गमो मन्द इवाचिरस्य॥ Ibid. V.4.24.

45. These citations will show that the peculiarities of the equivalence of certain sounds, alliteration and rhyme are not restricted to the poets of a particular region or period. Perhaps, Bhattacharya's contention is that these phonetic and linguistic peculiarities are found in the *Nc.* in a profusion which may be linked with the peculiarities of the language of Bengal. This profusion or 'indiscriminate use' as De calls it could hardly be looked upon as a regional tendency. The alliterative slant in expression is rather an individual idiosyncracy of Śrīharṣa, which he has certainly exploited to the full and which has won him the admiration of traditional scholars.

46. So much about the phonetic and linguistic peculiarities as far as Sanskrit poetry is concerned. Bhattacharya's contention is that these peculiarities in Śrīharṣa's poetry are only a reflection of the Bengali language which, he asserts, was the poet's mother-tongue. That these peculiarities are not confined to the Bengali tongue can be seen from Bühler's observations in regard to the phonetics of the Kashmirian tongue. He observes: "The group 'Kṣa' becomes invariably 'Khya' e.g. *Kṣamyatām K(h)-yemyatām.* 'S' is never used; its usual substitute 'Ś' is sometimes interchanged with 'S'. Visarga is sounded very soft, so as to be almost inaudible."[99]

47. In fact, it would appear that Bhattacharya was so obsessed with the idea that the author of the *Nc.* was a native of Bengal with Bengali as his mother-tongue that he did not care to investigate whether phonetic phenomena which he considers to be peculiar to the Bengali language are found in other provincial languages or not. Had he done so, he would have found that the characteristics in question are shared by other languages as well, particularly the Gujarati language as the following examples will show:

99. Report, p. 26, Nos. 11-13. *Cf.* JNC, p. 100, n. 13 where this quotation is given.

(i) *ś* turning into *s*: Skt. Śarkarā—Guj. Sākar; Śuṣka-Sūkun; Śobhate-Sohe; Śūrpa-Sūpaḍun; Upa-viśati-Bese; Śṛṇoti-Suṇe; Śata-So; Śṛṅkhalā-Sānkaḷa. etc.

(ii) *ṣ* turning into *kh*: Skt. Viṣa-Guj. Vakh; Ṣaṭ-Khaṭ; Pakṣī-Pankhī; Śikṣā-Śīkh; Kṣira-Khir; Lākṣā-Lākh; Kukṣi-Kūkh.

(iii) *y* turning into *j*: Skt. Yādav-Guj. Jādav; Yamunā-Jamnā; Yati-Jati; Viyoga-Vijog; Yadi-Jo; Maryādā-Marjād; Sūrya-Sūraj; Kārya-Kāj etc.

(iv) *n* turning into *ṇ*: Skt. Kathana-Guj. Kaheṇa; Vinā-Vaṇ; Pādona-Pauṇa; Pānīya-Pāṇī; Jānāti-Jāṇe; Nayana-Neṇ; etc.

(v) *v* turning into *b*: Skt. Vādyate—Guj. Bāje; Vaṁśī-Bansī; Dvitīyā-Bīj; Upa-viś-Bes; Viṭikā-Bidi; Dvāra-Bāra etc.

This being the inter-relation of the sounds under consideration, it would be easy to overlook their distinction. Indeed, it would be far easier to treat them as non-distinct in alliteration wherein, as Bhattacharya says, this peculiarity of Śrīharṣa's language mainly reveals itself. Probably, the dictum of the rhetoricians about the non-distinctness of certain sounds is based as much upon the actual evolutionary process in the articulation of the sounds as on the theoretical and physiognomical aspects of their articulation.

48. (X) *The Sārasvata or Cintāmaṇi Mantra*: After Damayantī's selection of Nala as her groom in the open

assembly, the various gods shower blessings upon the bridal couple. The goddess Sarasvatī imparts the Cintāmaṇi Mantra to Nala, through whose power one could attain the highest excellence in knowledge, learning poetic power and handsomeness.[100] Bhattacharya believes that "Devotion to the Sārasvatamantra after the Tantra also points to Bengal. For Bengal is not simply the great Centre of Tantra, it is its nursery."[101] While the claim of Bengal to be the nursery of *Tantra-vidyā* can be readily conceded, it has to be borne in mind that the science of Tantra flourished widely in other parts of the country also. The Śakti-cult has been widely prevalent in Gujarat and is still followed by large sections of the people. The consecration (*siddhi*) of the Cintāmaṇimantra which is referred to in the *Prabandhakośa* appears to have been an event of such outstanding importance in the life of Śrīharṣa as to merit a mention in the signature stanza at the end of the first canto of *Nc.*; in fact, it says that the poet was able to compose the *Nc.* by virtue of the 'power' of the Mantra.[102] This, however, does not necessarily indicate that Śrīharṣa was a native of Bengal; because there are similar cases of the consecration of the Sārasvatamantra by authors born in Gujarat, too.

Amaracandra, a contemporary of Vastupāla, was blessed by Goddess Sarasvatī with unusual capacity for poetic creation.[103] Another contemporary of Vastupāla,

100. *Cf.* अवामावामार्धे सकलमुभयाकारघटनाद्
द्विधाभूतं रूपं भगवदभिधेयं भवति यत् ।
तदन्तर्मन्त्रं मे स्मरहरमयं सेन्दुममलं
निराकारं शश्वज्जप नरपते सिध्यतु सते ॥ —XIV 88.
For the various possible interpretations of the stanza and the identification of the Mantra, see Nārāyaṇa's commentary.
Also cf. HNC, p. 455 ff and JNC, Appendix 5.

101. *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

102. *Cf.*. तच्चिन्तामणिमन्त्रचिन्तनफले शृङ्गारभङ्ग्या महा-
काव्ये चारुणि नैषधीयचरिते सर्गोऽयमाविर्गतः ॥ —I 145.

103. *Cf.* सः..अरसिंहात् सिद्धसारस्वतमन्त्रं मन्त्रमग्रहीत् । —*Prabandhakośa* p. 61.

Bālacandrasūri, describes in the first canto (stanzas 58 ff) of his poem *Vasantavilāsa* how he saw the vision of the Goddess Sarasvatī who blessed him with creative powers similar to those of poets like Kālidāsa. Both of these are known as '*Siddha-sārasvata*'. With all this evidence available, it is impossible to believe that Śrīharṣa's reference to the Cintāmaṇi-mantra or his own 'consecration' of the *Mantra* should necessarily imply that he hailed from Bengal.

Before concluding his thesis, Bhattacharya notices a few minor arguments urged against Śrīharṣa being a Bengali: some of these have been already noticed by us. Among the others, one is based on Śrīharṣa having the suffix 'Miśra' added after his name at the end of some of the chapters of the *Khaṇḍana*. Bhattacharya remarks, "....the surname 'Miśra' is no proof of one's being a non-Bengali. For, it was so before, and even now many Bengalis are found with 'Miśra' for their surname." (p. 189) The point to note here is that the suffix 'Miśra' does not necessarily indicate the Bengali origin of a person, though it does not preclude it.

49. Dr. A. N. Jani has referred to certain words and practices which may point to Bengal as the home of Śrīharṣa. These, of course, are in addition to those mentioned by Bhattacharya and discussed above. Jani has collected these words or practices generally on the authority of commentators who consider them as being peculiar to Bengal or on the authority of the Notes of Dr. Handiqui in his edition of the translation of the *Nc.* Let us turn to these words and practices and see if they would support the view of Bhattacharya.

50. (XI) FĀLA—The word occurs in the expression '*dvi-fāla-baddhāś cikurāḥ*' in I.16 which means 'hair parted in two'. Handiqui refers to the Assamese word 'fāla'

meaning 'side, section', (p.567). Jani remarks, 'It should be remembered that Assam is an adjoining country to Bengal'.[104] In the first place, it should be noted that the word also occurs twice in the feminine gender: *'Māṁsa-fālikām'* (XVI.82) and *'Tāmbūla-fālikāḥ'* (XX.82). *'Fālikā'* means a slice or side or section which is the meaning of *'fāla'*, too. Handiqui reports that *ḍviphāla-baddhaś cikuraiḥ* occurs in *Padmapurāṇa* (Pātālakhaṇḍa 52.37). The word 'fāḍ' in the sense of a slice or piece is common in Gujarati, *e.g. 'Roṭalāni nānī fāḍa'* 'a small slice of a bread.' The √fāḍ-vuṁ (to cut, to slice) is also common. More interesting is Nārāyaṇa's commentary on XVIII.103 in which he explains *Pūga-bhāga* as *'pūga-fala-fālikā'* (slices of betel nuts).

51. (XII) UDAYABHĀSKARA: This word occurs in XVIII.103 and means a kind of camphor which, according to Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, is found in Gauḍa, cf. HNC p. 562. Nārāyaṇa adds the adjective *'pakva'* in his commentary, the exact meaning of which, however, appears uncertain.[105] He, however, has no comment to offer in regard to any regional peculiarity of the word. The practice of putting small grains of camphor inside a betel-roll for providing a pleasant taste and smell is wide-spread and common in Gujarat (though it is replaced by crystals of menthol in modern times).

52. (XIII) LALAḌ-ḌIMBA: occurs in XXII.53[106] and means a top. For variants, cf. HNC p. 505. Cāṇḍū remarks: गौडदेशे प्रसिद्धं वर्तुलं चक्राकारं डिम्बनामधेयं बालक्रीडनकं भवति। He explains *'Lalat'* as *'Vilasat'* which may have inspired the *lectio simplicior 'lasat'* of Nārāyaṇa. Again, Cāṇḍū

104. JNC, p. 97.

105. Cf. तथा पक्वेन उदयभास्कराख्येन ताम्बूलमध्ये गृहीतेन कर्पूरेण वासितैः।

106. Cf. बालेन नक्तं समयेन मुक्तं रौप्यं लसद्डिम्बमिवेन्दुबिम्बम्।
भ्रमिक्रमादज्झितपट्टसूत्रनेत्रावृतिं मुञ्चति शोणिमानम्॥

states that the word for a top in Bengal is *Ḍiṁba* (not *Lalaḍḍiṁba*): this explains Nārāyaṇa's wobble: डिम्बं ललडिम्बमिति वा गौडदेशभाषायां भ्रमरकस्य संज्ञा। By the way, this provides a clear indication that Nārāyaṇa was familiar with Cāṇḍū's reading *'Lalaḍ-ḍiṁba'* but himself preferred *'Lasaḍ-ḍiṁba'* as his explanation *'lasad vilasamānam'* shows. Handiqui (s.v.) states that the word for a top in Bengali is *'Lāṭima'* and in Assamese *'Lāṭuma'*, with which can be compared the Gujarati word *'Laṭṭu'* having the same meaning.[107]

53. (XIV) GHUGHU—In XIX.62,[108] the poet indulges in a fancy about the deep guttural sound *ghughu* which pigeons are wont to make in the morning. He says that the pigeon has forgotten most of the material in Pāṇini's grammar which it had studied the previous day and has succeeded in remembering only the *Ghu-saṁjñā*—the technical term for certain roots like *dā, dhā* etc.,[109] which it repeats continuously in the morning! Handiqui draws attention to the Bengali word *'Ghughu'*[110] for a dove or pigeon. It may be added that in Gujarati 'Ghughu' is the word used by elders when drawing the attention of little children to a dove: little children use the word 'ghughu' for a dove. Obviously, it is an onomatopoetic word and is likely to be in use in other regions also.

54. (XV) In the course of the description of the bridal decoration of Damayantī, it is said: "The ornamental line drawn with collyrium so as to touch (cover)

107. Cf. JNC, p. 97.

108. Cf. दाक्षीपुत्रस्य तन्त्रे ध्रुवमयमभवत्कोऽप्यधीती कपोतः
कण्ठे शब्दौघसिद्धिक्षतबहुकठिनीशेषमूषानुयातः।
सर्वं विस्मृत्य दैवात्स्मृतिमषसि गतां घोषयन्यो घुसंज्ञां
प्राक्संस्कारेण संप्रत्यपि धुवति शिरः पट्टिकापाठजेन॥

109. Cf. *'dādhādhvadām'* Pāṇini I. 1.20.

110. Cf. HNC, p. 293, n. 46.

the corner of her eye shone brightly: it seemed as if a (black) string was imprinted (or let fall) by the Beauty of youth with a view to extend her eyes!"[111] The poet indulges in a complicated fancy here! Nārāyaṇa observes: Architects or builders desiring to raise or extend a structure mark a line by striking the ground with a cord dipped in ink or liquid chalk and the like with a view to avoid a flaw or distortion in the design. In the case of Damayantī who had stepped into youth, her eyes though not actually enlarged would appear to be enlarged or extended on account of graceful side-long glances etc. incidental to youth; therefore it is proper that a marking of a black line should be made. He ends by saying that the plain meaning is that her eyes were beautified by the application of collyrium.[112]

Now, Nārāyaṇa remarks here that ladies in the Eastern region decorate their eyes with collyrium so that the streak goes out of the end of the eye and reaches up to the region of the ear.[113] For one thing, Nārāyaṇa's remark that the collyrium streak reaches upto the region of the ear is gratuitous. The text says that it touched the corner of the eye (*Apāṅgam āliṅgya*) only. Emeneau's remark that Nārāyaṇa appears to be anxious to prove that Śrīharṣa belonged to Bengal is justified by this observation which goes beyond the requirements of the text. As a matter of

111. Cf अपाङ्गमालिङ्ग्य तदीयमुच्चकैरदीपि रेखा जनिताञ्चनेन या।
अपाति सूत्रं तदिव द्वितीयया वयःश्रिया वर्धयितुं विलोचने ॥ —XV.34

Handiqui's addition of the words 'on her temple' placed in brackets in the translation is unnecessary and rather misleading. Cf. HNC, p. 220.

112. Cf. शिल्पिनश्च किमपि लेखितुं वर्धयितुं वा लिख्यमानस्य वर्ध्यमानस्य वाकारवक्रिमपरिहाराय मषीखटिकाद्युपदिग्धस्य सूत्रा(त्रस्या)भिघातेन रेखापातनं कुर्वन्ति। यद्यपि नेत्रयोर्वृद्धिर्नास्ति तथापि शैशवापेक्षया तारुण्येन कटाक्षविक्षेपादिविलासवशाद्दैर्घ्यप्रतीतेर्दैर्घ्यकरणाय सूत्रपातो यक्तः। नेत्रे कज्जलाञ्चिते इति भावः।

Also cf. Īśānadeva's remark quoted in HNC, p. 458.

शिल्पिनो हि सूत्रपुरःसरं कर्मारभन्ते।

113. Cf. प्राच्यो हि सुन्दर्यो विलोचने नेत्रप्रान्तनिर्गतया कर्णोपान्तस्पर्शिन्याञ्जनरेखया भषयन्ति।

fact, it is a common sight in Gujarat and Maharashtra—and probably elsewhere, too—to see young girls and children and more particularly brides having collyrium applied to their eyes so as to reach slightly out to the edge of the socket. This extension of the black streak of collyrium visible at the outer corner of the eye lends added charm to the make-up and is referred to here. Nārāyaṇa's *obiter dictum* is unwarranted.

55. (XVI) XIV.37 describes Damayantī being escorted into the midst of the divine and human suitors in the *Svayaṁvara* hall by the Goddess Sarasvatī. The poet says that Sarasvatī made her 'a *Pānthadurgā*'.[114] Nārāyaṇa offers two explanations of this statement: (i) Sarasvatī escorted and left Damayantī in the midst of Indra and other gods, just as a stone image of a *mārga-devatā* smeared with vermilion etc. by travellers is set up in the middle of the road. He explains *Pāntha-durgā* as *Pānthānām Durgā* (a wayfarers' goddess). (ii) Just as on festive occasions an image of Durgā is placed in a palanquin and is taken around along thoroughfares, Sarasvatī made Damayantī like a mobile Durgā. He explains the word as '*Pānthā cāsau Durgā ca*' (the moving Durgā).[115] Vidyādhara explains *Pāntha-durgā* as '*Pathika-durgā*' and remarks that the travellers' Durgā is placed in the middle of the road.[116] Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, too, gives an identical explanation.[117] Handiqui translates *Pāntha-durgā* as 'a travelling idol of the goddess Durgā' and thus appears to support the second interpretation given by Nārāyaṇa. However, in the note on the word in the Vocabulary (p. 601) he discusses the

114. हसत्सु भैमीं दिविषत्सु पाणौ पार्णि प्रणीयाप्सरसां रसात्सा।
आलिङ्ग्य नीत्वाऽकृत पान्थदुर्गां भूपालदिक्पालकुलाध्वमध्यम् ॥

115. Cf. भमीं .... पान्थदुर्गां पथिकसिन्दूरादिपूजितशिलामयकल्पितमार्गदेवतामकृत चकार।
...उत्सवादौ मञ्चके दुर्गामारोप्य राजवीथीषु भ्राम्यते तथैनामपि चलदुर्गां चकारेत्यर्थ इति वा।

116. Cf. पान्थदुर्गा हि मार्गमध्ये क्रियते। *Vide* HNC, p. 60.

117. Cf. दुर्गादेवी मार्गमध्ये पतति। Ibid.

relevance of the two interpretations of Nārāyaṇa and remarks: "It is, however, doubtful if Pāntha-Durgā has anything to do with such customs, and the first explanation of the word seems to be the right one." Nārāyaṇa's second explanation as 'a travelling image of Durgā' "refers to the idol of Durgā carried on a platform in the streets on festive occasions." Handiqui observes, "This custom is, in fact, still followed in Bengal and Assam on the *Vijayādaśamī* day of the great *Durgāpūja* festival." This interpretation is considered by some scholars to indicate Bengal as the home of Śrīharṣa. Apart from Handiqui who prefers the first interpretation, it is to be noted that neither Vidyādhara nor Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita interprets the word as 'a moving Durgā', much less refers to any religious custom of a particular region. Nārāyaṇa, too, does not see any reference to a Bengali or other regional custom in either of his interpretations.

Regarding 'a travelling image of Durgā', it may be pointed out that in Bombay (and other places in Maharashtra) it is a fairly common sight to see an image of the Devī placed in a temple-like wooden case carried on the head of a woman who is accompanied by two or three male companions, one or two of them beating drums in a particular rhythm to which the leader beats lashes on his own body! The group carries the Devī from street to street and of course collects alms.

56. In all likelihood, the expression *'pāntha-durgām akṛta'* is nothing more than a figurative expression meaning 'Sarasvatī escorted and placed her' in front of the gods and kings assembled there. In fact, in XIV.33 there is a similar expression: *pānthā pathīndrasya kṛtā*—'she was made a traveller along the road of Indra' i.e. she was led to Indra.[118] Just as Damayantī is here spoken of as 'a

118. करे विधृत्येश्वरया गिरां सा पान्था पथीन्द्रस्य कृता विहस्य।

travelling Durgā', Nala riding a chariot in the marriage procession is compared with Puruṣottama going round, seated on a platform or palanquin.[119] Nārāyaṇa remarks that in Utkala (Orissa), a festival in honour of Puruṣottama is celebrated on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha: therein seven-storied platforms or chariots carrying the images of Śrīkṛṣṇa, Balarāma and other deities are taken out separately; one earns religious merit by witnessing this procession.[120] If, therefore, the mention of *pāntha-durgā* is considered to be indicative of the author's home being Bengal, one might as well argue that the reference to the *Mahājyaiṣṭhī* festival is indicative of Utkala being the native region of Śrīharṣa! As a matter of fact, such references to social or religious customs only reveal the wide knowledge of the author in regard to local mythology or conventions or practices whose roots generally are to be traced in *Purāṇa* literature: by themselves they have little bearing on the provenance of the literary work in which they are found.

57. There still remains one point which is important because of its relevance to the question whether Śrīharṣa was a native of Bengal. Canto XXI describes how Nala took a bath, entered the temple and offered ceremonial worship to the deities. The description of the worship of the deities commences with the worship of the Sun god because, says Nārāyaṇa in his introductory remark on XX.32,

119. Cf. No. XV.89:

तामिदृश्यत एष यान्पथि महाज्यैष्ठीमहे मन्महे
यद्-दृग्भिः पुरुषोत्तमः परिचितः प्राग्मञ्चनञ्चन्कृतः।
सा स्त्रीराट् पतयालुभः शितिसितैः स्यादस्य दृक्चामरैः
सस्ने माधमघातिघातियमुनागङ्गौघयोगे यया॥

120. Cf. उत्कलदेशे ज्येष्ठपूर्णिमायामिन्द्रनीलगिरिनिवासिनः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य महोत्सवः क्रियते। तत्र श्रीकृष्णबलभद्रप्रमुखप्रतिमाधिष्ठिता विरचितसप्तभूमिका मञ्चाः पृथक् निर्गच्छन्ति। तस्य दर्शनं भूयसे श्रेयसे भवतीति पौराणिकाः।

For fuller details and other references see Handiqui's note on Mahājyaiṣṭhī (p. 615 f).

the worship of the Sun precedes the worship of other deities in the *Pañcāyatana-pūjā*. Next comes the description of the worship of God Śiva with many traditional details. This is followed by the description of the worship of Viṣṇu and his twelve Incarnations. The rather detailed description of the twelve Incarnations of Viṣṇu is followed again by a short reference to some of them and of Trivikrama, Hari, Hara and Bālamukunda: then follows a reference to the efficacy of the mutterance of the word 'Rāma' and a prayer to God Hari to bless him.

Now, the one thing that stands out sharply in the description of the worship of deities is the absence of any mention of Devī or Śakti or Durgā or Lakṣmi among the deities worshipped. The *Pañcāyatana-pūjā* which Nārāyaṇa refers to and according to which the *pūjā* starts with the worship of the Sun includes Śakti and Gaṇeśa along with Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. Again, the number of deities to which worship is offered is quite large: and yet there is a total silence about the worship of Durgā or Devī. This would be inexplicable if Śrīharṣa were a native of Bengal. The *Pañcāyatana-pūjā*, if it is really one, is incomplete as its description stands in the *Nc*. The lacuna in regard to the worship of Devī would appear almost impossible in the case of a Bengalī author.

58. (XVII) In XVI.8 the entrance to the marriage-hall is described as decorated with a pair of plantain trees with loose and waving leaves. Handiqui says, 'it is usual even now, in some parts of India (*e.g.* Assam), to decorate the entrance ground of the bride's place with banana plants.'[121] Jani believes this sort of decoration as lending 'further strength to the present issue'![122]

121. HNC, p. 230, n.10.
122. JNC, p. 106.

59. (XVIII) XIX.55 describes the morning time: "The day, like a barber, banished the Night, lopping off her braid of darkness, with sharp razors, the rays of the Sun."[123] Jani makes the following observation on this: "This apparently curious and somewhat indecorous custom of removing the locks of hair of a lady, which, being the sign of widowhood, is taken to be inauspicious, becomes at once justifiable, when we know that in Bengal even today, the hair of girls is removed twice or thrice till they become seven or eight years old, so that they may not lose it due to serious illness or some such unexpected accident and that they may get luxuriant growth of the same."[124] This observation is based on a superficial reading of the text and therefore has hardly any relevance to the question under consideration.

60. The attempt of Bhattacharya to claim Bengal as the home of Śrīharṣa was a serious attempt but the evidence adduced in its support lacks the cogency that is needed to prove it. While some of the words employed or customs and usages referred to in *Nc*. may be typical of Bengal, such references do not warrant the postulation that Śrīharṣa was a native of Bengal. These references can be equally well explained by the fact that Śrīharṣa had stayed in Bengal as his panegyrics like the *Gauḍorvīśa-kula-praśasti* indicate and that he might have had opportunities of acquainting himself with the usages and practices as well as the language of the people of that province. However we have seen in the preceding sections how some of the words and usages and customs mentioned by Bhattacharya are not confined to Bengal but have a wider provenance: others which are confined to

123. दिनमिव दिवाकीर्तिस्तीक्ष्णैः क्षुरैः सवितुः करै-
स्तिमिरकबरीलूनां कृत्वा निशां निरदीधरत् ॥
English Translation is Handiqui's.
124. JNC, p. 106.

Bengal may have been utilized by the poet for his poetical purposes as in fact he has done in the case of the *Rathayātrā* procession of Utkala without being a native of that province. Śrīharṣa flourished at a time when literary authors paid scant attention to the topographical or regional authenticity of anything they described—flora, fauna, customs, conventions, social and other similar practices: the whole Bhāratavarṣa marked the horizons for the exercise of their poetic imagination in this respect. Under the circumstances, customs, usages and similar social or religious observances may not always be depended upon for determining the provenance of an author or a work by themselves. However, Śrīharṣa flourished at a time when the New Indo-Aryan languages (modern regional languages) had begun to burgeon and develop their identities. It would be only natural for authors to be influenced by their mother-tongue or the local language even when they wrote in Sanskrit. One of the sure signs of such influence is the Sanskritization of Prakrit or local words—even of words which originally have been derived from Sanskrit as works like the *Prabandhakośa* testify. Handiqui has appended a very informative vocabulary to his translation of the *Nc.*, in which he has collected words of rare or unusual significance and recorded their occurrence in other sources. To this very useful glossary, Jani has added many more 'difficult and obsolete' words occurring in the *Nc.* without, however, attempting to follow the lead of Handiqui in respect of their meaning or parallel occurrence. Here, an attempt is made to collect all words and phrases, apart from the few utilized by Bhattacharya to support his thesis, which may bear a relationship with the language of a region and to assess their individual and collective evidence in regard to the question of the home of Śrīharṣa. At the outset, we shall consider one or two

points of a general nature, which appear relevant to our purpose.

61. As the signature stanzas testify, the name of Śrīharṣa's father was Hīra and that of his mother Māmalladevī. "These are hardly Bengali names", observes Dr. De.[125] Māmalladevī is obviously a Sanskritized Proper noun and is too opaque for us to guess original. But Hīra is transparent enough and is quite popular as a proper noun in western regions including United Provinces, Rajasthan and Gujarat: e.g., Hīrāśaṅkara, Hīraśaṅkara, Hīrālāl, Hīrācand. Even the name Harṣa without the prefix *Śrī* figures widely in names like Harakhaśaṅkara, Harakhacand, Harakhlal. Even the *Prabandhakośa* once gives Harṣa as the name of Śrīharṣa, Cf. *mṛtyukāle sa Harṣam babhāṣe*/[126] Again, the information provided by '*Hariharaprabandha*' in the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekharasūri is illuminating. Therein it is stated that Harihara, a descendant of Śrīharṣa, had brought a copy of the *Nc.* to Gujarat and Vastupāla, the prime minister of Vīradhavala, had got a transcript of it made. That this statement is broadly authentic is indicated by the assertion of Vidyādhara at the end of his commentary on Canto XI that there was a copy of the *Nc.* in the library of King Vīsaladeva, son of

125. *New Indian Antiquary* II, p. 81, note 4.

Jani criticizes De's observation as follows: "This objection based on the names is groundless, being inconclusive, as the names of one province are sometimes adopted by the other, as is seen in case of Talhaṇa (the brother of a Gujarati Commentator. Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita), whose name apparently looks Kashmiri—like." (JNC, p. 108). However, on the very next page and in the same context, he takes a starkly contradictory stand: "But the most conclusive evidence is found in a list published by Muni Jinavijayaji, which records a *Bhāṣya* on the *Nc.* by Śrīharṣa's grandson, called Kamalākara Gupta whose title Gupta being most common among the Bengalis, settles the problem almost certainly." Comment is superfluous.

126. *Prabandhakośa*, p. 54. Pandit Śivadatta, however, reads *Śriharṣam*' instead of '*Harṣam*' in his Introduction to the *Nc.* (Nirnayasagar Press, 7th edition, 1933).

Vīradhavala (1238-1261 A.D.);[127] and, apparently, he had used this copy for writing his commentary on the *Mahākāvya*. These bare statements of facts carry certain implications. Why should Harihara have carried a *MS.* of the *Nc.* all the way from Bengal to Vīradhavala's Capital, Dhavalakka, in Gujarat and showed it to Vastupāla? Why should Vastupāla, himself a *littérateur*, have evinced such keen interest in the *Nc.* and ordered a transcript of the same to be made? No doubt, in the days of Vastupāla, Gujarat was humming with literary activities; but it was not the Mecca where the devotees of the poetic Muse would trek to get their poetic works adjudged or appreciated. Could it be that Śrīharṣa's family originally belonged to Gujarat and, as is the case with many other learned families from the south, migrated to Benaras which along with Kashmir was the citadel of learning and scholarship at the time? Harihara must have been well aware of the great interest in literary activities and the generous patronage offered to poets and scholars in Gujarat under the inspiration of Vastupāla; he may have therefore taken a copy of the *Nc.* to Vastupāla who must have warmly appreciated this poetic composition of a son of the soil and done it the honour of having it transcribed for the royal library. This may also help to explain the early popularity of the *Nc.* in Gujarat, as evidenced by the commentaries on the poem written by Vidyādhara and Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita, both natives of Gujarat. The implication that the author of the *Nc.* was originally a resident of Gujarat would not appear as superficial as it might do at first sight when we take into consideration the evidence of words and phrases occurring in the *Nc.* which individually and cumu-

127. Cf. 'इत्यपरार्जुन-चौलुक्यचडामणि-राजनारायणावतार-भुजबल-मल्ल-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्वीसलदेवस्य भारतीभाण्डागारे नैषधस्य एकादशोऽध्यायः।
—B.O.R.I.D., Vol. XIII, Pt. I, Ms. no. 454. of 1895-1902.

latively appears strong enough to support such a conclusion. It is to these words and phrases that we shall now turn.

62. (1) *Sambhālayāmāsa* (VI.76)—(*Vijñaptim sambhālayāmāsa* /). The verb *sambhālay* is used here in the sense of hearing—which is unusual because the root *bhālay* in Sanskrit means 'to see' and is generally used with the preposition *ni*. *Nc.* has used *ni* + √*bhālay* in this ordinary sense of seeing in XII.53. The shift in the meaning from seeing to hearing is curious and it is very likely that *sambhālay* is a Sanskritization of the Gujarati verb *sāmbhaḷa*(*vuṁ*). *Sāmbhaḷa*(*vuṁ*) is a typically Gujarati root whose derivation, though attempted by many scholars, is yet to be finally settled. The more direct evolution *suṇa* (√*śru* to hear) is also met with extensively in old Gujarati poetry. HNC reports an occurrence of this verb in the *Upamitibhavaprapañca-Kathā*.

Moreover, *Vijñaptim sambhālay* is literally equivalent to the Gujarati expression *Vinantī sāmbhaḷa*(*vī*), 'to listen to a request or a proposal'.

(2) *Samuttārya* (VII.31)—(*tvacaḥ samuttārya*). The verb *uttāray* is used here in the sense of 'removing' which is unusual for it directly as a Sanskrit verb. In Gujarati the verb *utāra*(*vuṁ*) derived from Sanskrit *ava* + √*tṛ* (causal) is used in the sense of taking *down* (a baby from a chair, for example): but it carries the peculiar meaning of 'doffing', 'laying down', 'removing' when used with words having the sense of a covering. *e.g. khoḷa utāravī*—'to remove the cover (say, of a pillow)'; *sāpa kāṅcaḷī utāre che*—'the snake sheds the slough.' But more typical is the expression *chāla utāravī*—'to remove the skin', 'to peel'. It is this expression which is used in a Sanskritized form by Śrīharṣa viz. 'having removed the skins of the plantain tree'.

That the form *samuttārya* is not a direct Sanskrit formation is clear enough because the meaning 'having taken across' is unsuitable in the context here; even in this sense, the preposition *ut* is hardly used with the root *tṛ*.

(3) *Ghoraṇā* (XIX.60)—(*dvirepharavaghoraṇā ghanamupaiti nidrāmudam* /).[128] This word is explained by Nārāyaṇa as *prasuptaghargharāravāḍambaraḥ* (the loud snoring sound of a sleeping person). This is a Sanskritization based on the Gujarati verb *ghoravuṁ* which means 'to snore'. I am informed by Prof. Nagindas Parekh who has been kind enough to provide me with information regarding some Bengali words and phrases at my request that there is an expression *nidrāra ghora* in Bengali which, however, means 'overpowering sleep' and not 'snoring'. The Bengali expression for snoring is *nāka ḍākā*.

(4) *Mālya* (XIV.58)—Handiqui, following Nārāyaṇa's explanation, translates the stanza as follows: "The wreath of flowers, reflected in the tears of the (rival) kings, seemed to remain thrust in their very eyes, judging from the redness of them. But rightly were Nala's eyes wide open, which seemed to drink in the wreath." Nārāyaṇa clarifies the implications of the stanza in detail: the rival kings' eyes were filled with tears through anger; it seemed as if the garland of flowers was thrust like a spike into their eyes as well as hearts by Damayantī. On the other hand, the eyes of Nala were dilated as they 'drank in' the garland. The idea is that the rival kings felt hurt and their eyes were red with rage as they looked at the garland placed by Damayantī on Nala's neck; Nala's

128. अवैमि कमलाकरे निखिलयामिनीयामिक-
श्रियं श्रयति यत्पुरा विततपद्मनेत्रोदरम्।
तदेव कुमुदं पुनर्दिनमवाप्य गर्भभ्रमद्-
द्विरेफरवघोरणाघनमपैति निद्रामुदम॥
This stanza is XIX.59 in HNC.

eyes were wide open with joy as they looked at the garland resting on his chest.[129] Nārāyaṇa offers an alternate interpretation of the stanza which, however, does not differ materially from the one noticed above.

Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita explains *mālya* as *nyāsa* (a thing which is deposited or pledged) and gives a technically loaded interpretation of the stanza:[130] the garland reflected in the tearful eyes of the rival kings through anger stood there like a pledge which is to be preserved and not to be enjoyed. Their eyes carried only a reflection of the garland—not the garland itself which could be enjoyed. On the other hand, the eyes of Nala enjoyed or used the garland which was 'drunk in' *i.e.* was intently looked at. Cāṇḍū's interpretation of *mālya* as a pledge here follows the rules of *Dharmaśāstra* regarding *gopya* and *bhogya* pledges: the former had to be retained intact or preserved as it was and was to be returned in the same condition as it was received from the depositor; while the latter (*bhogya*) could be used or enjoyed by the pledgee in certain ways as long as it remained in his possession. In other words, the stanza would mean that with the rival kings, the garland was a *gopya* pledge which could not be enjoyed or used; while with Nala it was a *bhogya* pledge which Nala's eyes 'drank in' or enjoyed! Now, the crucial word in this interpretation is *mālya* meaning a thing de-

129. Cf. Nārāyaṇa's remarks:

तन्माल्यं रागाद् दृशोर्न्यस्तमिवास्त नेत्रमध्ये निक्षिप्तं यच्छल्यादि तदिवाभूत्। युक्तमेतत्। क्रोधाद्धि दृष्टमात्रं वस्तु शल्यमिव भवति नेत्रयोश्च लौहित्यमश्रु च भवतीति युक्तमित्यर्थः। तन्माल्यं पीतवतोरिव नलनेत्रयोरन्तः रागात्प्रीतेर्हृष्टत्वं प्राप। एतदपि युक्तम्। प्रीतेर्हि हर्षो भवतीत्येतदपि युक्तमेवेत्यर्थः।

130. Cf. तस्य ग्रीवास्थितं माल्यं राज्ञां दृग्योरपि न्यस्तमिव न्यासरूपमिवास्त।...अयमर्थः—राज्ञां दृशोः न्यस्तमिव न्यासभूतम्। स्थपनिका हि पुनर्गृह्यते। तथा प्रतिबिम्बभूतं च वस्तु अर्थक्रियाक्षमत्वाभावात् उपभोक्तुं न शक्यते। नलस्य पुनरक्ष्णोः मध्यं पीतत्वात् एतेन उपभुक्तत्वात् आलम्बत। अत एव प्रालम्बशब्दः प्रकर्षं आलम्बः तत्र यत् भुज्यते। यत्र न्यासभूतं स्थितं तत्र माल्यशब्दः प्रयुक्तः कविना। मलमल्लधारणे। धारणमात्रं न तु उपभोगः न्यासस्य... प्रतिबिम्बत्वात् अनुपभोग्यत्वात् न्यासभूतत्वाच्च दमयन्तीप्राप्तिलक्षणार्थक्रियाकारित्वाभावः॥

Quoted in HNC, p. 453.

posited or pledged. It is obvious that it is related to the Gujarati word *māla* which has the self-same meaning. It is not improbable that Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, himself a native of Gujarat, has been able to lay his finger on this meaning of the word *mālya* which Śrīharṣa may have had in mind. Far-fetched conceits are not unusual in the author of the *Naiṣadhacarita.*

(5) *Paricārikā* (IX.116)[131]—Handiqui translates: "Clasp me round; let the arrows of Cupid be left without any entry into our two hearts, joined one to the other; this firm expanse of my bosom is the proper hand-maid of thy inflexible breasts." Nārāyaṇa explains *paricārikā* as *sevākartrī* and Handiqui follows him. It is clear that this explanation of the second half of the stanza is tame and pointless; Nārāyaṇa's attempt to extract some worthwhile significance does not succeed.

The second half of the stanza is intended to offer a reason for the statement made in the first half. In the first half of the stanza Nala says, "Clasp me in embrace so that the arrows of the god of love would get no entry into our hearts thus joined together." What relevance or propriety is there in Nala proceeding further to say that his own broad chest would be a worthy servant of the firm breasts of Damayanti? It is well-known that like all other poets of the decadent period, Śrīharṣa revels in clever or smart puns, striking turns of phrases and odd conceits which, however divorced from the poetic they might be, possess some novelty or intellectual elegance. The *Nc.* has been proclaimed as 'a medicine for the fever of learnedness': this may be a jibe at it as a poem but a well-deserved encomium as an intellectual feast. It is therefore impossible to believe that Śrīharṣa would make a pointless state-

131 परिष्वजस्वानवकाशबाणता स्मरस्य लग्ने हृदयद्वयेऽस्तु नौ।
दृढा मम त्वत्कुचयोः कठोरयोरुरस्तटीयं परिचारिकोचिता॥ IX.116.

ment in the second half of the stanza. Vidyādhara, the earliest commentator of the *Nc.*, seems to have hit upon the correct explanation of the word *paricārika* as *kīlikā* (a nail; cf. *paricārikā kīlikā pacārā iti loke* (HNC. p. 418). Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita at first offers the ordinary meaning of the word—'a servant', but proceeds to give an alternate explanation which is the same as the one given by Vidyādhara: in addition, he makes the remark that the 'nail' is fixed for strengthening and repeats Vidyādhara's reference to *pacārā* in common parlance, cf. इयं ममोरस्तटी कठोरयोस्तव कुचयोः परिचारिका शुश्रूषापरा उचिता। यतो दृढा। अथवा परिचारिका कीलिका या दार्ढ्यार्थं क्रियते। लोके पचारा इति। (HNC. p. 418). The question-mark after this explanation of Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita is probably placed by Handiqui who could not understand the meaning of *pacārā.* The *pācāra* or *pacārā* mentioned by these commentators both hailing from Gujarat is the word *phācara* in Gujarati and *pācara* in Marathi. Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita's reference to *pacārā* being used for strengthening rests on the practice of plugging a split or crevice in a wooden plank with a wooden 'peg' or chop so that no foreign body could land into the opening and serve to widen it. The 'peg' would thus strengthen the wooden plank. This meaning of *paricārikā* would be eminently suitable in the context here. This second half of the stanza would explain how the arrows of Cupid would be prevented from entering their hearts on Damayantī offering a close embrace to him. The idea is: the firm breasts of Damayantī have a space between them through which Cupid's arrows could pierce her heart. If, however, Nala's broad chest is fixed on Damayantī bosom, the space between her breasts would be plugged, leaving no room for Cupid's arrows to pierce through! In that event, Nala's own heart, too, would receive protection from the cover of Damayantī's bosom. This conceit would be quite in consonance with Śrīharṣa's

style of poetic composition. It would also confirm Emeneau's view that Śrīharṣa introduces 'everyday, homely, less dignified aspects of life rather more frequently than other poets'.[132]

That a rather novel or odd conceit such as this one must have been responsible for the composition of this stanza follows from another consideration also. In the preceeding stanza,[133] the idea of an embrace offered to him by Damayantī has already been exploited—in a novel manner. Damayantī, says Nala, is an adept at evading the arrows of Cupid; he himself, however, is exposed to Cupid's attack. If, therefore, Damayantī who is already inside his heart were to cover it from outside by means of a close embrace, she would provide a complete envelope to his heart which would then shed its fear of the arrows of the god of love! From this odd intellectual concept of a shield provided to Nala's heart by Damayantī's embrace, Śrīharṣa goes to another—necessarily odd or 'original'—concept of the 'wedge' in the embrace of them both. The poet would not have repeated the description of their embrace if he had nothing novel or original to offer. The explanation given by Vidyādhara and Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita discloses this novelty of conception—Nala's strong chest acting as a block or chop plugging or covering the space between Damayantī's firm breasts, thereby leaving no scope for Love's arrows to pierce the heart of either!

It is clear that *paricārikā* is a Sanskritization of *phācara* of Gujarati or *pācara* of Marathi.

132. Cf. मम हि दृढातिकठोरा विशाला चेयमुरस्तटी वक्षस्तटी कठोरयोस्त्वत्कुचयोः परिचारिका सेवाकर्त्री समुचिता। तुल्ययोरेव सेव्यसेवकभावो घटत इत्यर्थः। आलिङ्गनयोग्यत्वमेव सूचितम्। द्वयोरपि कामपीडा न भवति तथा विधेयम्। आलिङ्गनं देहीति भावः॥
Notes on Śrīharṣa's Naisadhacarita, p. 90.

133. Cf. अधीतपञ्चाशुगबाणवञ्चने स्थिता भवन्तर्बहिरेषि चेदुरः।
स्मराशुगेभ्यो हृदयं बिभेतु न प्रविश्य तत्त्वन्मयसंपुटे मम॥ IX.115

(6) *Nabhonabhasyatvamalambhayad dṛśau/* (IX.84)[134]—Damayantī thought over Nala's words describing the power of the different gods to thwart her selection of Nala as her groom and realized that he was right. Then "she brought her eyes, in which the flow of water (tears) had its obstacle removed, to the state of the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada." *i.e.* abundant tears began to flow from Damayantī's eyes. The months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada are 'months of heavy rainfall'. Śrīharṣa's expression appears to be based on a popular usage. In Gujarati there is a popular idiom: *tenī āṁkhamāṁthī śrāvaṇabhādaravo varase che.*—'Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada are raining from his eyes' in reference to a person shedding tears. Śrīharṣa's expression is identical with this one in Gujarati and appears to have been borrowed from contemporary language.

(7) *Pūtkārya* (XX.145)[135]—"By the smear of musk rubbed out by his perspiring fingers, he (Nala) made the breasts of his beloved loudly proclaim their 'kneading' to her girl-friends!" Nārāyaṇa's interpretation of *pūtkārya* as *mahākalakalakathanīyam* (to be cried aloud with great noise) is broadly correct but his concluding remark that her friends would talk excitedly among themselves on seeing the decorative musk-smear made by them on Damayantī's breasts wiped off by his fingers misses the point.[136] Handiqui's translation of this word 'to be echoed round' is less to the point than his explanation of root *pūtkṛ* 'to cry aloud' given in the Vocabulary. Handiqui has recorded the occurrence of this word (in different

134. Cf. इमा गिरस्तस्य विचिन्त्य चेतसा तथेति संप्रत्ययमाससाद सा।
निवारितावग्रहनीरनिर्झरे नभोनभस्यत्वमलम्भयद् दृशौ॥ IX.84.

135. Cf. स्विद्यत्कराङ्गुलीलुप्तकस्तूरीलेपमुद्रया।
पूत्कार्यपीडनौ चक्रे स सखीषु प्रियास्तनौ॥

136. Cf. भैमीकुचयुगले स्वरचितां कस्तूरीपत्रवल्लीरचनां प्रोञ्छितां दृष्ट्वा प्रियेण गाढमेतौ पीडिताविति अन्योन्यमुच्चैः कलकलं सख्यो यथा कुर्वन्ति वृत्तं कुचमर्दनं जानन्ति तथा तत्कुचौ ममर्देति भावः। लोकेऽपि स्वकृतां मुद्रां लुप्तां दृष्ट्वान्यथाभावशङ्कयोच्चैः पूत्कारं कुर्वन्तीति।—नारायण

grammatical forms) in other works.[137] In all these cases the word is used in the literal sense of crying aloud in pain or distress generally. Here, the literal sense of crying aloud is inadmissible because of the Locative case of the word *sakhī* which would naturally mean 'with reference to' or simply 'to' and not 'by'. The word *pukāra* is used in Hindi as well as Gujarati in the sense of crying aloud in pain or distress. In Gujarati the word is also used in the sense of proclaiming or shouting; what is more important, it is used in a figurative sense also. e.g. *tenuṁ pāpa pokāre che.* (His evil deeds are 'proclaiming themselves' i.e. they are too many and too foul to go unpunished for long.) This is exactly the sense in which Śrīharṣa appears to have used the word *pūtkārya.* In the expression *pūtkāryapīḍanau* the word *pūtakārya* is obviously used in a figurative sense: the perspiring fingers of Nala had erased the smear of musk on Damayanti's breasts in such a manner that their condition 'loudly proclaimed' their pressing by Nala to her female friends i.e. the cause of the smudging off of musk on her breasts was too obvious for her friends to miss. There is no question of friends talking about this fact among themselves.

(8) *Adhyuṣṭa* (XII.10)—*adhyuṣṭāpī hi koṭirasya samare romāṇi sattvāṅkūrāḥ!* In the course of the description of King Ṛtuparṇa of Ayodhyā at the *Svayaṁvara* ceremony of Damayantī, the Goddess Sarasvatī remarks, "In battles (all) the three crores and a half of hair (or downs) on his body appear like 'sprouts of valour'"! Nārāyaṇa betrays his carelessness when he remarks, *'adhyuṣṭeti sārdhakoṭitrayasya sajñā* (*Adhyuṣṭa* is a term meaning three-and-a-half crores). As a matter of fact *adhyuṣṭa* means 'three and a half' only and that is why

137. Cf. HNC, p. 603. One more occurrence may be recorded:
तैरन्तगोध्रकं पूत्कृतं 'गावो ह्रियन्ते कैश्चित् ।'
—*Prabandhakośa*, p. 107.

Śrīharṣa has used the word *koṭi* separately to convey the meaning of three crores and a half. In Gujarati the word for 'three and a half' is *ūṭhuṁ* which is genetically connected with *adhyuṣṭa.* Prof. Nagindas Parekh informs me that to the best of his knowledge there is no word like *ūtha-ūṭhuṁ* meaning three and a half in Bengali. He adds, however, that Old Bengali has a word *āuṭa* which signifies a number. A Bengali dictionary interprets *āuṭa* as 'eight' but, Prof. Parekh comments, the quotation given there *āuṭa hātha keśa* renders this meaning doubtful; it may be interpreted as 'hair three-and-a-half hāthas in length.'

(9) *Praṇīya śravaṇe pāṇim* ((XVII.140)—*praṇīya śravaṇe pāṇim avocan namuce ripuḥ.* When Kali boasted of his determination to harass Nala, Dvāpara supported him but "(Indra), the enemy of Namuci, placing his hand on the ear, said." Nārāyaṇa explains that Indra gesticulated in the popular manner by placing his hand on the ear so as to signify his disapproval of Kali's solicitation for help; alternatively, says Nārāyaṇa, Indra covered both his ears with the palms of his hands to imply that what Kali proposed or planned was too unworthy for him to listen to.[138] Placing the hands on the ears is a popular gesture of demur or denial sometimes accompanied by astonishment. *Kāne hātha mukavo* is a popular expression in Gujarati in the sense of disowning or disapproving. The expression occurs in the *Hitopadeśa.*

(10) *Hīraḥ* (VI.28; X.93; XIV.21 and in the first *pāda* of the signature stanza at the end of every Canto.)—The word *hīra* meaning a diamond may have been used in the signature stanzas through the author's flair for

138. Cf. अथ नमुचेर्दैत्यस्य रिपुरिन्द्रो युष्माभिः साहाय्यं कर्तव्यमिति कलिनोक्तस्य वचस उत्तरत्वेनैतद्व्यापारमध्येऽस्माभिर्न स्थीयत इति लौकिकाभिनयव्यञ्जनवशाच्छ्रवणे पाणिं प्रणीय यत्त्वया विचारितं तदस्माभिः श्रोतुमप्यनर्हमिति वा पाणिभ्यां कर्णौ पिधाय कलिमवोचत ।

alliteration °*hīraḥ śrīhīraḥ*, but the repeated use of the word in these stanzas as well as in three other places mentioned above shows that he was all too familiar with it freely in place of the classical word *vajra*. In Gujarati *hīro* (*hīraka*) means a diamond.

(11) *Cipiṭa* (VII.65; XIII.42; XXII.87)—HNC notices only VII.65 in the Vocabulary while JNC notices VII.65 and XXII.85 (which should read XXII.87) in Index Verborum. The word, however, occurs, in XIII.42 also. The reading in VII.65[139] suffers from variants and is explained by commentators in different ways. *Cf.* HNC *Notes* on pp. 398 f. and 401. Vidyādhara takes *cipaṭau* in the sense of *daṇḍabhāgau* and adds, by way of clarification, *cāpaṭa iti loke*. Mallinātha reads *cipiṭe* and interprets it as *anate ṛjū* (adjectives of *jye*). Nārāyaṇa explains *cipiṭe* as *vistṛte*. Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita attempts to explain in some detail: the bark of the bamboo is repeatedly planed off or scraped off and is thereby made flat; the bow-string is flat at the end.[140] Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita's explanation of *cipiṭa* is unmistakable viz. flat. Nārayaṇa and Mallinātha, too, appear to mean as much.

Nc. XXII.87[141] states, "The Moon was spherical as taught by the science of astronomy. Apparently it became flat, having been reduced to the shape of an oil-cake with the nectar squeezed out by the pressing machine in the form of the pair of jaws of Rāhu." The meaning of the word *Cipiṭa* is beyond all doubt here: it means flat.

139. Cf. आत्मैव तातस्य चतुर्भुजस्य जातश्चतुर्दोरुचितः स्मरोऽपि ।
तच्चापयोः कर्णलते भ्रुवोर्ज्ये वंशत्वगंशौ चिपिटौ किमस्याः ॥

140. Cf. यौ चिपिटौ लालिकापृथुलभागौ तौ किं वंशस्य त्वचः अंशौ भागौ । वंशत्वक् तक्षित्वा तक्षित्वा चिपिटा क्रियते । धनुषो मौर्वीप्रान्ते च चिपिटा भवति ।
—HNC, p. 401. Perhaps, we have to read *maurvī-prānte* separately instead of as a compound.

141. Cf. आसीद्यथा ज्यौतिषमेष गोलः शशी समक्षं चिपिटस्ततोऽभूत् ।
स्वर्भानुदंष्ट्रायुगयन्त्रकृष्टपीयूषपिण्याकदशावशेषः ॥

In Gujarati, the word for 'flat' is *capaṭuṁ* (adj.). The identity of the word and sense is unmistakable.

In XIII.42 the expression *dṛgantacipiṭīkaraṇa* is translated as 'the pressing of the corners of the eyes' by Handiqui who apparently follows Nārāyaṇa.[142] *Cipiṭīkaraṇa* may mean pressing and thereby flattening or, perhaps, pinching the corner of the eye with a finger. In Gujarati, *cīmaṭi bharavī* or *capaṭī bharavī* means to give a pinch with fingers. Pinching naturally implies flattening.

(12) *Chupta* (XVIII.148) (*Chuptapatravinimilitātkṣupāt*).—This is the P.P.P. of the √*chup* 'to touch'. Cf. HNC p.581 where he records the occurrence of the word in the *Yaśastilaka*. In Gujarati, there is a verb *chabavuṁ* having the same meaning. The phrase *chabachabiyāṁ karavāṁ* in Gujarati means 'to touch the surface of water repeatedly in a playful manner.'

(13) √*Camatkṛ*. This verb is used four times in *Nc.*: XI.75, XIV.34, XVIII.129, and XX.146. Its meaning in all these occurrences is 'to be surprised', 'to be startled', 'to be scared': the element of wonder or surprise is common—with a mixture of fear in some cases. In XVIII.129 *camat cakāra* means 'surprised' only: so also in XX.146, though it is possible to see an element of (feigned) fear therein. In the other two cases, the element of surprise is mixed with fear.[143] Now, it is to be noted that the rt. *camatkṛ* carries a passive sense as

142. Cf. दृगन्तयोर्नेत्रप्रान्तयोर्यच्चिपिटीकरणं अचिपिटयोश्चिपिटीकरणमङ्गुल्यग्रेण निपीडनम् ।

143. Cf. XI.75: *Camatkṛtacakoracalācalākṣi* (Nārāyaṇa): *Camatkṛtaḥ bhītaḥ*.
XIV.34: *tataścamatkṛtya karam cakarṣa* (Ibid. *camatkṛtya bhītvā*).
XVIII.129: *sāspṛśan mṛdu camat cakāra ca* (Ibid. *sāścaryābhūta*).
XX.146: *camat kurvan stayekṣitaḥ* (Ibid. *aṅgasaṅkocābhinayapūrvaṃ śaṅkamānaḥ*).

is clearly indicated by *camatkurvan* meaning 'being startled' and *camatkṛtya* meaning 'having been scared or startled'. This is exactly the sense in which the rt. *camakavuṁ* is used in Gujarati. The verb *camakavuṁ* in Gujarati primarily has the sense of 'being surprised'—with the addition of fear when intended; there is another rt. *coṁkavuṁ* which is a variant derived from the same original rt. *camatkṛ* but always possesses the sense of wonder and fear. The following occurrences in the *Prabandhakośa* may be noted: आमः चमत्कृतः। (p.41) चमत्कृता आचार्याः (p.85) सर्वेऽपि चमत्कृता राजन्यकाः। (p.104)

(14) *Val* (verb)—(VIII.5; IX.45, 54)—Śrīharṣa has used the noun *valanā* in III.118 (*patrāvalīnāṁ valanā*) which Nārāyaṇa correctly explains as *racanā i.e.* 'drawing of decorative designs'. This is a specific meaning of the noun derived from the root *val* which means 'to move', 'to turn'. HNC (p.627) has quoted parallel passages in which *valanā* is used in the sense of *racanā*. Handiqui has also quoted passages from the *Haravijaya* and the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* wherein *valanā* is used in the sense of 'movement'.

Śrīharṣa has used the rt. *val* as a verb in the three stanzas mentioned above and it is clear that it conveys the sense of metaphorical rather than physical movement. In VIII.5 (*punaḥ sma tasyāṁ valate'sya cittam*) 'his heart turned to her again and again', in IX.45 (*kare puṇaḥ karṣati saiva vihvalā balādiva tvāṁ valase na bāliśe*). 'Heaven being anxious, is pulling thee forcibly as it were by the hand; but thou dost not turn (towards it), O foolish one!', and in IX.54 (*vinā tamojasvinamanyataḥ katham manorathaste valate vilāsini*) 'How would your desire turn to any one other than that lustrous one (firegod), O graceful one!'—in all these cases the root *val* is used in the sense of

figurative movement *viz.* 'to turn to *i.e.* to be interested' in VIII.5, 'to turn to *i.e.* to be well-disposed or to respond' in IX.45, and 'to turn *i.e.* to long for or to desire' in IX.54. *Cittaṁ valate* and *manoratho valate* are identical expressions meaning 'the heart is set on or interested in'. In Gujarati the expression *mana vaḷavuṁ* is used in the same sense. The Gujarati expression *mana vālavuṁ* (causal) means 'to withdraw the mind or heart from an object or to reconcile one's heart to an (unpleasant) situation' and underlines the similarity of meaning with Śrīharṣa's use of this verb.

(15) *Catuṣka* (XV.19)—(*Catuṣkacārutviṣi vedikodare*).—Nārāyaṇa explains: चतुष्कसंज्ञेन नानावर्णककल्पितस्वस्तिकसर्वतोभद्रादिमण्डनेन चार्वी रमणीया त्विट् कान्तिर्यस्य एवंभूते..वेदिकाया उदरे मध्ये। Vidyādhara explains '*catuṣkaih svastikapadmaprabṛtibhiḥ*' and obviously Nārāyaṇa has taken the cue from him. *Catuṣka* therefore means 'ornamental designs of various shapes (lotus blossoms, swastikas etc.) painted on floors, altars and the like' (HNC. p. 578). Handiqui has recorded the occurrence of the word *catuṣka* in other works. In Gujarati the word *coka* is used in the same sense and the phrase *coka pūravā* means 'to draw ornamental designs on the floors etc.' on auspicious occasions like marriage. The identity of the word and its meaning in Gujarati is unmistakable.

(16) *Maṇika* (VII.75; XXII.146).[144]—*Maṇika* in *maṇikādikārī* in VII.75 is obviously used in the sense of a pot—an ideally large pot, in the context. In XXII.146,

144. Cf. एतत्कुचस्पर्धितया घटस्य ख्यातस्य शास्त्रेषु निदर्शनत्वम्।।
तस्माच्च शिल्पान्मणिकादिकारी प्रसिद्धनामाजनि कुम्भकारः।। VII.75
सपीतेः सम्प्रीतेरजनि रजनीशः परिषदा
परीतस्ताराणां दिनमणिमणिग्रावमणिकः।
प्रिये पश्योत्प्रेक्षाकविभिरभिधानाय सुशकः
सुधामभ्युद्धर्तुं धृतशशकनीलाश्मचषकः।। XXII.146.

however, there is a complicated fancy, the moon being fancied as *maṇika* (a pot) and the black spot therein as *caṣaka* (a cup). Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita explains: चषकं पानपात्रम् । मणिके हि उदकोदञ्चनार्थं लोटिका भवति। (HNC p. 612). Nārāyaṇa comments: यथा मणिकस्थोदकाद्युद्धरणाय मणिकमुखे चषकः स्थाप्यते तथा...सुधापूरितस्यास्य चन्द्रमणिकस्य मुखे सुधोद्धरणाय शशनामा नीलमणिचषको निक्षिप्त इत्युत्प्रेक्षितुं शक्यत इत्यर्थः। From these explanations, it is clear that *maṇika* is a large pot inside which or, perhaps, on whose mouth a jar-let or a cup is kept for use whenever one wishes to draw water from the jar. Now, in Gujarati the word *māṇa* is very well-known, particularly on account of its association with a Brahmin reciter of poetic tales, called *Māṇabhaṭṭa* because his sing-song recitation is regulated in its time-beats (*tāla*) and rhythm by him by the clever drumming of his ringed fingers on a very large brass pot called *māṇa*. The identity of meaning between maṇika and *māṇa* is beyond doubt. But, linguistically, the long vowel of *mā* in *māṇa* would be difficult to account for, unless *maṇika* duplicated its *ṇ* (*maṇṇia*) in course of evolution into *māṇa* like *khani* into *khāṇa*.

(17) *Āli* (XXII.28)—*rāmāli* in this stanza is explained by Nārāyaṇa as *rāmasyāliḥ setuḥ setubandhaḥ*. The word is used here in the sense of 'a causeway, a bridge' as HNC (p. 559) observes. Handiqui has also another meaning—'a ridge or mound of earth crossing ditches or dividing fields etc.' on the authority of Monier-Williams. Essentially, there is little difference between the two meanings. Handiqui adds that in Assamese *āli* is used 'in the first sense' (i.e. a ridge) and means also 'a road'. In Gujarati the word *āḍa* is used in the sense of a ridge or a mound of earth constructed for preventing water from flowing out.

(18) *Rīḍhā* (XVII.111, 128)—Following Amara., Nārāyaṇa explains this word as *avajñā* (disregard or contempt). The word occurs in *mantriṇā rīḍhayā bhrūpraṇāma iva kṛtaḥ*—*Prabandhakośa*, p. 110. In Gujarati the word is used commonly in an adjectival form: *rīḍho, rīḍhī, rīḍhuṁ* —meaning 'insensitive or unresponsive' with a suggestion of disrespect.

(19) *Garbharūpa* (XI.80)—(*tam garbharūpamapi rūpajitatrilokam*) Nārāyaṇa explains the words as *vayaḥsandhau vartamānam yuvānam*. Cf. HNC p. 576 for parallel occurrences of the word. The word *garbharūpa* is perhaps to be connected with the Gujarati word *gabharu* meaning 'shy, coy, timid'—a characteristic quality in a person stepping from childhood into youth.

(20) *Gharaṭṭa* (II. 85)—The word means a millstone and is related to the Gujarati word *ghaṇṭī* meaning a grinding mill consisting of two stones for grinding corn etc.

(21) *Haṭṭa* (II. 85)—A shop. It is used in the *Prabandhakośa*: अर्धक्रोशार्धक्रोशान्तरे हट्टानि (मण्डापितानि) तत्र सर्वं लभ्यते। p. 122). In Hindi and Gujarati, the word *hāṭa* is used in the same sense.

(22) *Śārim māraya* (VI.71)—This expression is used with a pun in the sense of 'killing' a pawn or a piece in a game played with dice. In Gujarati the phrase *sogaṭhī māravī* is current in the same sense. Moreover, the word *akṣadāya* used in the stanza in the sense of 'a turn for throwing the dice' is reminiscent of the Gujarati word *dāva* having the same sense.

(23) √*Lag* (II.8; XV.39, 43; XIX.11)—In XV.39 (*lagitvā*) XV. 43 (*lagat*) and XIX. 11 this verb is used in the sense of physical contact. In Gujarati the verb *lāgavuṁ* is used in the sense of physical as well as psychological contact, fixity or attachment. e.g. *mana lāge che* means 'the mind gets set' or 'the mind feels interested' or 'attached'. However, more interesting is the occurrence

of the word *lagati* in III.8:[145] "Slightly angry at the laughter of her friends, and visibly ashamed at her failure to catch the swan with her hands, the beautiful maiden then followed the bird, just as the shadow follows a man going in the direction of the Sun." Nārāyaṇa explains: हंसस्य पश्चाल्लगति स्म चचाल । which is very tame: so also is Handiqui's translation 'followed'. The context requires a determined or persistent pursuit of the swan by Damayantī because she felt chagrined and ashamed by the derisive laughter of her friends at her inability to catch the bird in the attempt already made. In Gujarati there is a similar expression e.g. *koinī pāchaḷa lāgavuṁ* having just this sense of dogging the foot-steps of some one or 'to shadow' the movements of some one. This phrase has a metaphorical sense also; e.g. *te marī pāchaḷa lāgyo che* meaning 'he is embarrassing me (with his request or demand).'

(24) √*Āp* used with a verb in the Infinitive mood. The use of the root *dā* (to give) with a verb in the Infinitive mood is as old as Kālidāsa, the root *dā* having the sense of permitting *e.g.* बाष्पस्तु न ददात्येनां द्रष्टुं चित्रगतामपि । (*Sāk.* VI.22) 'Tears do not allow me to see her even in a portrait!' In *Nc.* X.100 a similar construction is met with: प्राक् पुष्पवर्षैर्वियतः पतद्भिर्द्रष्टुं न दत्तां (दमयन्तीम्) . . 'Damayantī was not permitted to be seen i.e. could not be seen on account of the showers of flowers raining from the sky . . .' But more interesting is the use of the root *āp* with or without the preposition *pra* which Śrīharṣa has used more than once in the *Nc.* In XX.59, मूर्ध्ना किमपराद्धं यः पादौ नाप्नोति चुम्बितुम् । (what offence has been given by my head that it does not get to i.e. is forbidden to kiss (Damayantī's) feet?) Nārāyaṇa's

145. Cf. धृताल्पकोपा हसिते सखीनां छायेव भास्वन्तमभिप्रयातुः ।
श्यामाथ हंसस्य करानवाप्तेर्मन्दाक्षलक्ष्या लगति स्म पश्चात ॥
English translation is Handiqui's.

explanation: चुम्बितुं स्प्रष्टुमपि नाप्नोति नमस्कर्तुमपि न ददाति । is more a factual interpretation than a proper interpretation because Nala's head not getting to touch Damayantī's feet is equivalent to Damayantī not allowing Nala to bow and fall at her feet. This explanation misses the pointedness of the expression. In XX.92 *na prāpaṁ cumbitum* means 'I could not get to kiss' i.e. 'I did not succeed in kissing.' More revealing is the expression *dātumāpa* in XVIII.71.[146] Nārāyaṇa's explanation: करं दातुं स्थापयितुं पूर्वमाप । शक्तोऽभूदित्यर्थः । brings out the correct shade of the meaning of the expression *dātumāpa* here. Nala 'got to give' i.e. succeeded in placing his hand only on the arms of Damayantī with which she had covered her bosom. Also Cf. यः प्राप भूभृद् भवितुं पुरस्तात् । (X.5). Nārāyaṇa correctly interprets *purastād bhavitum prāpa* as *agre gantum śaśāka.* All such uses of the root *āpa* with a verb in the Infinitive mood are idiomatic and imply some difficulty or obstruction in the act represented by the verb in the Infinitive mood. In *Nc.* the expressions *cumbitumāpa, dātumāpa* etc. carry similar implications. Now in Gujarati, there are expressions like *jovā pāmavuṁ, cūmavā pāmavuṁ* which are exactly similar in form and meaning. The verb *pāmavuṁ* is derived from *pra* + *āp* and is accompanied by another verb in the Infinitive mood, *jovā, cūmavā.* These expressions in Gujarati always imply some difficulty or obstruction: *jovā pāmyo* (he succeeded in seeing), *cūmavā pāmyo* (he succeeded in kissing).

(25) *nimicchya* (VII.43)[147] "If she were pleased to give the Moon even a thousandth part of her smile, that deity would make the existence of the lunar rays fruitful by worshipping it (with the rays) as with circular waving

146. Cf. नीतयोः स्तनपिधानतां तया दातुमाप भुजयोः करं परम् ।
वीतबाहुनि ततो हृदंशके केवलेऽप्यथ स तत्कुचद्वये ॥
147 Cf. यदि प्रसादीकुरुते सुधांशोरेषा सहस्रांशमपि स्मितस्य ।
तत्कौमदीनां कुरुते तमेव निमिच्छय देवः सफलं स जन्म ॥

of lights." (Handiqui). Nārāyaṇa explains: तमेव स्मितसहस्रांशमेव निमिच्छ्य अर्थात् कौमुदीभिरेव पूजयित्वा नीराजनं कृत्वा। Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita explains: निर्मच्छ्य (निमिच्छ्य)...निजाः कौमुदीः स्मितस्य उपरि उत्तार्य त्यजति। The poet intends to suggest that the smile of Damayantī is far superior in loveliness to moonlight (the smile being conventionally looked upon as white in colour); but he conveys this idea by saying that the Moon, in case Damayantī favoured her with a slight smile, would worship the smile with her own rays by waving them in a circular manner over it. Handiqui, obviously following Nārāyaṇa, interprets the root *nimicch* (*nirmicch*) in the sense of performing "Nīrājanā or the ceremonial waving of lights round an object of worship or idol; also round a person or horses and elephants as an auspicious act." (HNC p. 596). Śrīharṣa has used the word *nīrājanā* quite often; *e.g.* in I.10, 144;II.26; XI.77. Handiqui has a long informative note on the original meaning, practice and literary occurrences of the word *nīrājanā* but has nothing to add to the clarification of the meaning of *nimicch* or its occurrences elsewhere. It is clear that *nīrājanā* originally meant 'offering worship by waving a light in a circular manner'; yet, Śrīharṣa has used it in a much wider sense of 'offering worship by a circular movement' implying the acceptance of superiority of an object by another of comparatively inferior status or quality.[148] Nārāyaṇa, after having explained the meaning of *nimicchya* in the context, adds a general observation: अन्यदप्युत्तमं वस्तूत्तमेन वस्त्रादिना नीराज्यते। कौमुद्यस्तत्स्मितसहस्रांशस्यापि सदृश्यो नेति भावः। In Gujarati, there is the word *nyochāvara* (a noun) and the expression *nyochāvara karavo* which has exactly the same sense as

148. E.g. in XI.77:

उत्सर्पिणी न किल तस्य तरङ्गिणी सा त्वन्नेत्रयोरहह तत्र विपाशि जाता।
नीराजनाय नवनीरजराजिरास्तामत्राञ्जसानुरज राजनि राजमाने॥

Also cf. Nārāyaṇa's remarks:

नीराजनायेति नेत्रापेक्षया कमलानां हीनत्वं सूचितम्॥

nimicchana or *nīrājana* (used in a general sense). *Nimicch* and *nyochāvara* appear to be linguistically related terms. Hindi and Marathi have the word *nyochāvara*.

(26) *Prasādīkṛ* (VII.43; VIII.49).[149] The meaning of the word *prasāda* in these two occurrences is rather peculiar; it obviously means 'to bestow something as a token of favour'. The word *prasāda* is used in Gujarati and probably in Hindi and Marathi, in the sense of some materials like flowers, fruits, sweets, even shawls etc. received as a token of favour or blessing from a deity, a saint or a religious teacher.

(27) *Khañjana* (IV.4, VIII.13, IX.112, X.110) Śrīharṣa has indulged in fancying the eyes of Damayantī as Khañjana birds rather frequently. The same fancy is met with in Gujarati, especially in early poetry.

(28) *Jemituṁ* (XVI.87) to dine (Guj. *jamavuṁ*), *khaṭikā* (XII.9) chalk (Guj. *khaḍī*), *laḍḍuka* (XV.103, 107) sweet-balls (Guj. *lāḍu*), *kūra* (XV.107) rice (Guj. *kūra*), *gumugumārava* (XX.117) humming sound (Guj. *gaṇagaṇāṭa*), *galantikā* (XVI.84) strainer (Guj. *gaḷaṇī*) may be borne in mind while examining the vocabulary of the *Nc*.

63. Finally, we may notice some peculiar idiomatic and conventional expressions used in the *Naiṣadhacarita*:

(i) *Janānane kaḥ karamarpayiṣyati* (IX.125) *Cf.* Guj. *māṇasane moṁae hātha devāya che?* For a similar expression quoted by Vidyādhara and Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita, *Cf.* HNC p. 419.

(ii) *Satyaḥ kṛtaḥ spaṣṭamabhūt tadānim tayākṣṇi lajjeti janapravādaḥ* (XIV.29) "Shame resides in the eye—this popular saying was proved true by her at the time."

149. For VII.43 cf. note 147. VIII.49 cd.:

अपि श्रुतीनामृतमाद्रियेतां तयोः प्रसादीकुरुषे गिरं चेत्॥

Cf. Guj. *tene āṁkhamāṁye śarama che?* (Has he/she shame even in the eyes?) *Koinī āṁkhanī śarama rākhe tema nathī* (He would not pay the slightest heed to anybody).

(iii) *Jahāsi nādyāpi sukhāsikām* (IX.90) "You do not still give up your comfortable posture?" *i.e.* You are cool or indifferent to the urgency of the situation. *Cf.* Guj. *hajī palaṁṭhī vāḷīne beṭhā cho? or hajī palāṁṭhi choḍatā nathī?* The word *palāṁṭhī* is derived from Sk. *paryastikā* which is a synonym of *sukhāsikā* (squatting comfortably with the legs crossed). The expression is used in Gujarati as a snub, exactly as is done here in Nc. to a person betraying undue laziness or carefreeness.

(iv) *Dhiyātmanastāvadacāru nācaram parastu tad veda sa yad vadiṣyati* (IX.124) "I have not behaved improperly deliberately; others know what they should say." Following Nārāyaṇa, Handiqui translates the latter half of this hemistich: 'but I know what others will say.' This translation takes *aham* (understood) as the subject of *veda*. It is perhaps better to construe: *parastu tad veda sa yad vadiṣyati* (others only know what they will say (about me) in this matter). *Cf.* Guj. *meṁ jāṇī joīne khoṭūṁ karyuṁ nathī; bākī jene je kahevuṁ hoya te kahe.* (I have done nothing wrong; let others say what they like).

(v) *Talaṁ yatheyur na tilā vikīrṇāḥ* (X.5). The royal thoroughfares were so crowded with the armies of kings that "sesamum grains, if scattered (from above), would not reach the ground!" Cf. Guj. *tala jeṭalī jagā nathī* (There is no room even for a sesamum grain).

(vi) XVIII.27[150] contains the following description: At the rumbling sound of drums, the peacock of the palace

150. Cf. स्वामिना च वहता च तं मया स स्मरः सुरतवर्जनाज्जितः।
योऽयमीदृगिति नत्यते स्म यत्केकिना मरजनिस्वनैर्घनैः॥

danced with the idea: "My master, and I who carry him, have both conquered Cupid who is so powerful, because we abstain from amorous dalliance." (Handiqui). Handiqui adds a note: '...the peacock is said to have offspring without sexual connection'. (p. 271 n. 12). Emeneau (*loc. cit* p. 90 f) notices this stanza containing 'a reference to the belief that peafowl do not mate in the usual way' and adds that he does not know of any other literary use of this belief in spite of Handiqui's note that "the peacock is described in mythology as having offspring without sexual connection." Emeneau had used the first edition (1934) of Handiqui's *Nc.* In the second edition (Poona, 1956), Handiqui has re-worded his note and obviously dropped the reference to the occurrence of this motif in mythology as the quotation given above indicates. Nārāyaṇa observes that the peahen receives the teardrops from the eyes of the peacock and becomes impregnated.[151] In Gujarati there is an expression conveying this very idea: *moranāṁ āṁsu ḍhela jhīle.* It should be borne in mind, however, that Śrīharṣa's statement about the peacock impregnating the hen without mating is very general and makes no reference to any particular mode of insemination.

CONCLUSION

64. In the foregoing paragraphs we have investigated some problems connected with Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita,* about which a difference of opinion prevails among scholars. The questions of the authenticity of the epilogue stanza—the 'signature stanza' as we have called it at the end of every Canto of the *Nc.* and the authenticity of the four concluding stanzas at the end of the last—XXIInd—Canto have been discussed in the light of the evidence of

151. Cf. "...मयूराणां च वर्षर्तुकामभाजां नेत्रोपान्तरन्ध्रमार्गेण निर्गच्छतामश्रुमयशुक्रबिन्दूनां मयूरीमुखग्रहणमात्रेण गर्भसम्भूतेर्लिङ्गसंघर्षणरूपरतपरित्यागो जयहेतुः॥"

MS material as well as of testimonia like the different commentaries on the Mahākavya. However, these have remained questions of comparatively minor importance: indeed, they have been dealt with here on account of their having a bearing, to a greater or smaller degree, on the main problem—of the provenance of the *Naiṣadhacarita*. Scholars have looked into this question and have offered their views thereon in the light of the evidence made use of by them. N. Bhattacharya investigated this question with serious attention and came to the conclusion that Śrīharṣa was a native of Bengal on the strength of the evidence of language, religious beliefs and social practices. The examination of these different views in this article goes to show that, while each view has some basis on which it could rest, none of them could establish a claim to acceptance beyond reasonable doubt. It has, indeed, been shown above that there is enough evidence to warrant the view that Śrīharṣa was a Westerner rather than an Easterner. It should be borne in mind in regard to the evidence adduced here for this view that I have given references to the Gujarati language because I happen to know it best—as Handiqui has done with Assamese. As a matter of fact, Śrīharṣa lived at a time when regions like Rajasthan and Gujarat had a common spoken language which later on branched off into different regional languages. With this proviso, it may be reasonably concluded on the evidence adduced here that Śrīharṣa hailed from Western India; probably, his family originally belonged to Gujarat from where it migrated to Kanauj and Banaras later on.*

* This project was undertaken under the University Grants Commission's Scheme for utilizing the services of retired professors.

17 वीथी AND प्रस्तावना IN THE दशरूपक

Whether there are two वीथीs and two प्रहसनs as contained in, or at least hinted at, by the *Daśarūpaka* (DR); whether the वीथ्यङ्गs and the आमुखाङ्गs if any, are to be inferred as conterminous from DR. III. 7; whether DR. III. 7-8 give us three subdivisions of the प्रस्तावना or three different forms in one of which only a single प्रस्तावना can clothe itself:—such questions present themselves to us at the first perusal of DR. Prakāśa III. And these questions are not improper in themselves, arising as they are from the over-straining of the capacity of the verse and the consequent lack of lucidity of context. All the above questions really turn upon DR. III. 6-8, in which one definition or enumeration is packed over another without adequate serial order. The confusion is made worse confounded by the index to the book (ed. N.S.P.) where DR. III. 7-8 are mentioned to contain वीथ्यङ्गानि. According to the index, therefore, प्रस्तावना or आमुख is a subdivision of वीथी—but of this later.

I

Let us now consider the first of the questions suggested at the beginning of this article, *viz.*, whether there are two वीथीs and two प्रहसनs contained in, or at least suggested by, the DR. To treat of the वीथी first. वीथी is a

subdivision of the भारती style as we can clearly see in DR. III.5. Hence it is a peculiar mode of expression used in the general application of भारती or Eloquent Style. Now, DR. III. 6 says "वीथी...स्वप्रसङ्गेऽभिधास्यते". This statement means and can only mean the वीथी which is one of the ten forms of Drama and whose description is given in DR.III.68-68. Is this conclusion, that is, the identification of the former वीथी with the latter, quite correct and without any contextual flaws?

The latter वीथी is, as mentioned above, a form of drama just as नाटक, प्रकरण and the others are. It possesses सन्धिs, रसs and अङ्कs in accordance with the tone it is meant to have. The number of characters which are to appear in a वीथी is also suggested, *cf.* DR. III.69. These characteristics in themselves are enough to prevent us from identifying the latter वीथी with the former which is merely an eloquent mode of speech. Taking them as identical, we are forced to the necessary conclusion that भारती-- the Eloquent style—possesses Characters and Acts and Junctures!

But the remarkable feature of the latter वीथी which can under no circumstances allow us to identify the two without doing injustice to our common sense, is that the latter वीथी has its peculiar style to be cast in, *viz.*, कैशिकी. कैशिकी is one of the four styles in which Sanskrit drama is ordained by the Ācārya to be couched; it has its own subdivisions which are mentioned in DR. II.47-48. Its functions, purposes and characteristics are described in the टीका on verse 47 of DR. II.

What a glaring dramaturgical discrepancy, then, awaits the identification of the two वीथीs ! The author, it would appear, first solemnly distinguishes four modes of expression or styles, and after a few moments ruthlessly relegates one of them to a place among the necessaries of

a subdivision of another. "His ending" certainly would then "forget its beginning".

Nor is this all. The identification lands us on more unwelcome shores. उद्घात्यक and the rest which are the fourteen subdivisions of वीथी then surrender themselves to the latter वीथी. Now DR. III.67 runs as follows: वीथ्यङ्गानि यथालाभं कुर्यात् प्रहसने यथा, *i.e.*, the fourteen subdivisions are suitably to be inserted in the समवकार as in प्रहसन. This implies that in प्रहसन also the subdivisions of वीथी are alloted suitable scope. And this प्रहसन (latter) being assumed on the same grounds as in वीथी to be identical with the प्रहसन of भारती, we unmistakably see that the author has hopelessly allowed peculiarities of one thing to crowd into those of another to the consequent bewilderment of the reader.

There is still one more item to be added to this inventory of contextual contradictions. In nearly all the ten forms of drama the use and inclusion of these subdivisions of वीथी are either suggested or expressly enjoined. They are directly recommended in the नाटक, डिम, समवकार, भाण and वीथी; while in प्रहसन, व्यायोग and अङ्क their use is merely hinted at. The case of ईहामृग is rather a moot point, as neither the text nor the commentary furnishes us with any clues as to what style is to be adopted therein. Finally with regard to प्रकरण we can make out a comparatively strong case for using these वीथ्यङ्गs on the authority of धनिक's commentary on व्यायोग (DR.III.60-61). Thus the वीथ्यङ्गs contradict their very title inasmuch as they are the common property of all the forms of drama just as the प्रस्तावना and the आकाशभाषित and जनान्तिक are.

If one were to turn sceptical and say that everything in a drama is after all mere letters cast in this or that style, and ask why we should distinguish so sharply the

four styles,—well, we have no reply. But once we inquire into this subject, we really cannot help taking a decisive view.

In view of the foregoing discussion, the obvious conclusion follows that the two वीथीs are not identical. The fountain-head of this chaotic confusion lies in the use of the same word to denote two different things. If ever there is any relation between the वीथी of भारती and the वीथी, a form of drama, it is one, not of identity, but of an object and its qualities. Of course this conclusion invites the frown of the line "वीथी प्रहसनं चापि स्वप्रसङ्गेऽभिधास्यते" (DR. III.6), yet the discrimination put forth above makes it irresistible.

The line of argument in the case of प्रहसन is just the same as in that of वीथी, and much that is said above with respect of वीथी almost applies to प्रहसन. Yet it must be admitted that the case of प्रहसन is not so strong. The former प्रहसन, *viz.*, प्रहसन of भारती, is a style, the latter is a form of drama. The प्रहसन— drama—will surely have to possess some style other than भारती; because भारती is "संस्कृतप्रायो वाग्व्यापारः", while DR. III.54 expressly enjoins the use of language befitting the characters, who are certainly not expected—as can be seen from their description in DR. III.54—exclusively to speak संस्कृत. The overlapping of वीथी and प्रहसन resulting from their respective identification already has been mentioned above. And here too, we have to adopt the conclusion that the two प्रहसनs are not identical.

Whether the conclusions as endorsed above commend themselves to other—and maturer—brains or not, the fact remains that the author of the *Daśarūpaka* has arranged, if arrangement it can be called at all, his things in a way far from lucid and satisfactory. He has either failed to

fulfil the promise held out in DR. III.6, or heaped up his matter so as to contradict his own purpose (DR. I.5).

II

The next question that arises in our mind is whether वीथ्यङ्गs and आमुखाङ्गs if there be any, are conterminous, that is, whether the वीथ्यङ्गs can be inserted in the body of a drama beyond the आमुख. This question turns upon the somewhat vague expression "वीथ्यङ्गानि आमुखाङ्गत्वात्" (DR. III.6), which may be interpreted in two ways. This expression may be taken to mean that the अङ्गs of the वीथी are also the अङ्गs of the आमुख; that, in other words, in आमुख the वीथ्यङ्गs may be employed. Not only so, but one feels a natural inclination when reading the verse (DR. III.6) to think that वीथ्यङ्गs are restricted to the आमुख only. The same expression may be also taken to mean—of course only when strained—that the आमुख itself is a subdivision of वीथी; and it is, it appears, through this meaning that the index is led to name the contents of DR. III. 7-8 "वीथ्यङ्गानि".

The latter interpretation cannot long sustain its position. DR. III.8 expressly limits the number of वीथ्यङ्गs to thirteen. Moreover, "वीथ्यङ्गानि त्रयोदश" comes after the प्रस्तावना or आमुख has been treated of so far as enumeration is concerned. Again, DR. III. 69 considers उद्घात्यक as the first of the वीथ्यङ्गs. So letting alone this no longer tenable view, let us turn to the former. That वीथ्यङ्गs are restricted to आमुख we cannot hold so long as we have the अवलोक before us. The commentator adduces illustrations in his remarks on the वीथ्यङ्गs only one of which, (*Vikramorvaśīya* I.3) I think, is taken from an आमुख; the rest he unreservedly picks up whether they are in the beginning, the middle, or the end of the drama. It appears, therefore, that आमुख and वीथी are not contermi-

nous. The correct interpretation of the expression "वीथ्यङ्गान्यामुखाङ्गत्वात्" must be that the subdivisions of वीथी may occur also in आमुख, besides their scope in the body of the drama.

This interpretation, moreover, removes the confusion that hangs round the apparently belated remark of the commentator "इति प्रस्तावनाङ्गानि" after DR. III.21*a*. This remark may now be justified as follows:

In DR. III. 5-6 the author is occupied with the treatment of भारती and wishes to put off the description of वीथी and प्रहसन. But since the वीथ्यङ्गs may and can occur even in आमुख to which he is shortly going to devote himself, he wishes to treat वीथी here in verse. 7. Therefore he first defines आमुख and its forms—this is at present his main subject of treatment—and then reverts to the classification and definition of वीथ्यंङ्गs. This treatment of वीथी, which was rather incidental, finishes at the end of verse 21*a*; and this brings his main theme to an end: hence "इतिप्रस्तावनाङ्गानि".

III

Now we come to the last of the questions that were raised in the beginning of this article, *viz.*, whether कथोद्धात, प्रवृत्तक and प्रयोगातिशय are three subdivisions of प्रस्तावना, or three forms of it; or to change the phrases, whether these three can occur side by side in one and the same प्रस्तावना, or the presence of any one of them in any प्रस्तावना totally excludes the other two.

The former view gains some ground to stand upon if we turn to DR. III.8. The text here runs: "तत्र स्युः कथोद्धातः प्रवृत्तकम् । प्रयोगातिशयश्च–" The natural import of this line is that all of them can occur in one and the same प्रस्तावना. The plural स्युः and the particle च are too strong an evidence to be refuted. Yet let us examine whether the same view is upheld by the individual definitions.

DR. III.9 describes the कथोद्धातः–

स्वेतिवृत्तिसमं वाक्यमर्थं वा यत्र सूत्रिणः ।
गृहीत्वा प्रविशेत् पात्रं कथोद्धातो द्विधैव सः ॥

Verses 10 and 11 respectively describe प्रवृत्तक and प्रयोगातिशयः–

कालसाम्यसमाक्षिप्तप्रवेशः स्यात् प्रवृत्तकम् । and
एषोऽयमित्युपक्षेपात् सूत्रधारप्रयोगतः ।
पात्रप्रवेशो यत्रैष प्रयोगातिशयो मतः ॥

From these definitions we can clearly see that each one of them has this feature common to all—that they are one and all concerned with पात्रप्रवेश. Whatever else be their technical purpose, whatever be their peculiarities, they have to introduce a character. Now, the mode of introducing a character or characters in a drama must be, and as a matter of fact has been, restricted to one, because the dramatist has at the same time to respond to the demands of dramatic interest of the audience. He cannot go on changing his ways without tiring, if not boring, his audience. Hence he cannot attempt at more than one way. If there is a कथोद्धात in a drama, it is simply impossible that the characters can be introduced by प्रयोगातिशय. But here we have to be a little more careful. Every प्रस्तावना has to make a direct reference to the पात्र which is to be introduced. Some such words, therefore, as स एष or एषोऽयम्, etc., are sure to be found in every drama. But then these words need not blindly drag us to the conclusion that there is प्रयोगातिशय. In discriminating between these three seductive forms and in deciding which one of them is present in a drama, we are to consider not only the speech of the सूत्रधार about the end of the प्रस्तावना, but also its connection with the character introduced and his (the character's) beginning of speech.

This of course leads us to conclude that कथोद्घात, प्रवृत्तक and प्रयोगातिशय are not three subdivisions of प्रस्तावना but three forms of it which are mutually exclusive.

This conclusion is re-inforced by the examples quoted by the commentator under each of these three. He quotes his illustrations from three different dramas:—कथोद्घात is illustrated by वेणीसंहार, प्रयोगातिशय by शाकुन्तल, and प्रवृत्तक by a drama other than these two.

Jagaddhara cannot, in view of the above, be right when he remarks in his commentary on वेणीसंहार that vs. I.6 (सत्पक्षा मधुरगिरः ...) is प्रवृत्तक. This verse does not introduce a पात्र; nor is the सूत्रधार's purpose to do so, merely because he sings about the शरद्. If this verse is to be taken as प्रवृत्तक, besides the above contradiction, there will follow the purposelessness of DR. III.4.; because whenever we find the desription of a season, we will seize upon it invariably as प्रवृत्तक.

Therefore the natural arrangement of dramatic features in the प्रस्तावना of वेणीसंहार must be as follows:

Verse 6 fulfils the purpose of DR. III.4, for certainly it is sung "ऋतुं कंचिदुपादाय", and it is also काव्यार्थसूचक. The प्रस्तावना is कथोद्घात, as quoted by धनिक, for it fulfils all the requirements of DR. III.9. There is no प्रयोगातिशय, though the सूत्रधार says 'अये एष खलु...वर्तते' etc. For, if it is taken as प्रयोगातिशय merely on the strength of this speech of the सूत्रधार, what the commentator quotes as an illustration of प्रवृत्तक will then surely have to be taken also as प्रयोगातिशय, because there also we find 'एष...प्राप्तः', etc., and we will then miss the very spirit of the definitions.

18 HUMOUR IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Na prāpnuvanti yatayo ruditena mokṣam,
Svargāyatim na parihāsakathā ṛṇaddhi;
Tasmāt pratīta-manasā hasitavyam eva
Vṛttiṃ budhena khalu kaurukucīm vihāya—
—Pādataḍitakam.

We as a nation have been charged with a general lack of the sense of humour and with an inclination, which has almost crystallized into a habit, to take everything seriously. Like many another charge against the characteristics of the Indian mind, this one, too, while not entirely true because of its being a half-truth, is yet not altogether without foundation. In the earliest times, the stern realities of life, wherein the Vedic Āryas found themselves and against which they had to battle, obviously left little scope for indulgence in relaxation of effort or lightness of approach. The next stage in our national history is represented by the *Brāhmaṇa* literature with the suffocating grip of sacerdotal ritualism choking off mirth and gaiety in ordinary life, followed by the high seriousness of the *Upaniṣads* grimly looking out for jty and abandon in a negation of life here on earth. These are hardly the conditions that would be congenial to the development of literature light of foot, cutting capers or indulging in slant, raillery or lampoon. The post-Upa-

niṣadic times were, generally speaking, no more propitious for the healthy and free development of humour as the theory of the four-fold pursuit of man had been formulated by then and it sat like a straight jacket on life in all its aspects with the result that every literary composition, whatever its subject-matter, had to prove its credentials in terms of one or more of these *Puruṣārthas.* Such a wooden-headed attitude alone can explain the lukewarm attitude of the ancients to Śūdraka's masterpiece of humour with its unique character Śakāra. The same sombre attitude must have been responsible for the founding of a Śāstra of theft at the hands of Ācārya Mūladeva —Karṇīsuta and the establishment of his tradition! This effort of Ācārya Mūladeva, without a parallel anywhere in the world, is alluded to or described in later literature[1] with as much seriousness as a work on Dharma or grammar; the basic slant inherent in an effort like Mūladeva's has altogether escaped unnoticed!

It is therefore true that we have failed to develop and exploit the sense of humour to a degree expected of a nation that has made such progress as ours in so many other directions. Nevertheless, it would be untrue to assert that we have been altogether devoid of a sense of satire or irony even in the Vedic times. Who could deny the presence of the humorous vein in the Vedic singer whose imagination could conjure up an analogy of Brāhmaṇa priests reciting *mantras* at a sacrifice for frogs croaking on the edge of a pond?[2] Even the aridity of the Brāhmaṇa literature is relieved here and there by a story or legend which is not without a strain of conscious or unconscious irony. The satire on human weakness implied in the behaviour of Ajīgarta who, after having

1. *Cf. Mṛcchakaṭika* III; *Avimāraka* III; *Cārudatta* III; *Daśakumāracarita* II, etc.
2. ṚV. VII.103.7.

shown his readiness—and greed—even to slay his own son Śunaḥśepa for a price at Hariścandra's sacrifice, suddenly began to overflow with affection for him when he was blessed by the gods and claimed him as his son is unmistakable.[3] The episode of Śiśu Āṅgirasa, though narrated seriously, is not without a pull of the leg of the elders whose smug sense of propriety was shocked by the junior addressing them as "sons" and who suffered disillusionment in the end.[4] We enjoy the good-humoured wit of a swan addressing his companion as *"Bhallākṣa, Bhallākṣa!"* in order to caution him against flying too near the place of Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa.[5] The characteristic reply of Śvetaketu, just back from college and carrying a stiff neck, to his father's question if he had learnt the highest lore, "No, the teachers probably did not know it; how, otherwise, would they not have taught it to me?",[6] will never fail to draw a smile. The discomfiture of the "haughty" Bālāki who had the tables turned upon him by Ajātaśatru[7] and the clever *naiveté* of Yājñavalkya's justification for driving away the cows placed as stakes in Janaka's assembly[8] can be cited as additional instances of the ancients striking a humorous note. In later times, Pāṇini has preserved evidences of the satirical vein in the language, for instance, in the formation of a compound like *Tīrtha-Dhwāṅkṣa*[9] (crow at a holy place) which is intended to denounce the greed of the priests. The *Pātre-samitādi* group of compounds[10] lists words which are full of ridicule, derision or satire on selfishness, narrow-

3. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII.17.
4. *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* XIII.3.24.
5. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* IV.1.
6. *Ibid.* VI.1.
7. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* II.1.
8. *Ibid.* III.1.2.
9. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* II.1.42.
10. *Ibid.* II.1.48: e.g. *Pātre-samita*—one who shares dishes but not duties; *Gehe-nardin*—Roarer in the home, etc.

mindedness, bullying temperament, cowardice, parasitism etc. The epics and the *Purāṇas* are studded with episodes or situations or speeches which enshrine the comic, the witty and the humorous in varying degrees.

The advent of the classical period shows humour enjoying a definite and important place in literature as well as poetics. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*[11] has included *Hāsya* among the eight sentiments treated by it and has even given traditional details about it: *Hāsya* is based on *Śṛngāra* (erotic sentiment), its colour it white;[12] its presiding deity is *Pramatha*.[13] It is called *Hāsya* because it excites laughter by means of abnormal or absurd speech, sense, dress or behaviour.[14] Bharata enumerates six kinds of *Hāsya* and classifies them in relation to the status of the characters concerned. Thus, says Bharata, *Smita* and *Hasita* are indulged in by the superior (*uttama*) characters, *Vihasita* and *Upahasita* by middling (*Madhyama*) characters, and *Apahasita* and *Atihasita* by inferior (*Adhama*) characters:

स्मितहसिते ज्येष्ठानां मध्यानां विहसितोपहसिते च ।
अधमानामपहसितं तथातिहसितं च विज्ञेयम् ।। VI.53

The description of *Hāsya* and the treatment of its various kinds given by Bharata have been adopted by later rhetoricians, directly or by implication, exactly as they are found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[15] There is one point that deserves to be noted in particular regarding the six divisions of *Hāsya* described by Bharata. The description of these six divisions of *Hāsya* given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VI.54-61) clearly shows that these divisions represent not the divisions nor kinds of the sentiment of humour but

11. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kashi Sk. Series, 1929), VI.39.
12. *Ibid*, VI.42.
13. *Ibid*, VI.44.
14. *Ibid*, VI.49-50.
15. cf. *Daśarūpaka* IV.76-77; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* III.214-221; *Rasagaṅgādhara* (Kāvyamalā series), p. 43 f.

the varieties of the act of laughing from the subtle smile to the roaring laughter. That this should be so is not difficult to understand because in the composition of the *Nāṭyaśātra* Bharata was chiefly concerned with the *Dṛśya* (Presentational) aspect of the dramatic material. Equally understandable therefore is Bharata's division of the act of laughing in keeping with the status of the characters. This limited view-point of Bharata would go a long way in explaining why *Upahāsa*,[16] *Parihāsa*[17] etc., which have been used by Kālidāsa to denote different kinds of the sentiment of humour, have not been included in the classification of humour in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. No doubt, Kālidāsa uses *Smita* and *Hasita* in Bharata's sense, *e.g.*, in मालविकापि स्मितं करोति (stage-direction in *Mālavik.* II)[18] and हसितमन्यनिमित्तकृतोदयम् । (*Śāk.*II.11). Yet he mentions *Prahasita*,[19] *Parihāsa*[20] and *Aṭṭahāsa*[21] which do not figure in Bharata's classification, though *Aṭṭahāsa* may be identified with the latter's *Atihasita*. What is more striking, however, is that Bharata defines—rather describes—*Upahasita* in a manner which shows that it has no relation whatever to Kālidāsa's conception of *Upahāsa*.[22] In any case, it is almost certain that Kālidāsa has used these terms which must have attained popular currency by his time and that Bharata left them severely alone as they were not of prime importance for him.[23]

16. cf. गमिष्यामि उपहास्यताम् । *Raghu.* I.3.
17. cf. परिहासविजल्पितं सखे etc. *Śāk.* II.18; also एहि । एनां परिहासयिष्यामि *Mālavik.* III. Bharata's equivalent of *Parihāsa* is perhaps *Narma* mentioned among the divisions of *Pratimukha Saṁdhi*, cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXI.80. Also compare *Narma*, etc. mentioned as varieties of *Kaiśikī vṛtti* in XXII.49ff.
18. Also स्मयमानमायताक्ष्या *etc.* in the same context.
19. cf. सर्वे प्रहसिताः (V.1. परिहसन्ति) *Mālavik.* II.
20. See note 17.
21. राशीभूतः प्रतिदिनमिव त्र्यम्बकस्याट्टहासः *Megh.* 60.
22. Kālidāsa has used हास्या in the sense of उपहास्या in ततो हास्या भवेयम —*Mālavik.* IV.
23. Bharata mentions *Upahāsa* and *Parihāsa* in XX.107f.

Humour, as we know it to-day, has a varied and rich range. Divided broadly into wit and humour, it sparkles with a witty sally or tickling pun, scintillates in light-hearted banter or fun, runs in diverse modes of satire and irony, glories in burlesque, parody or caricature and revels in ribaldry and even lampoon. Western literature has fully exploited this medium that is at once a joy and an absturgent for social dirt, although it has also been employed for "humouring" to death opponents in political, religious or social fields. The works of Swift, Dryden, Pope, Dickens and a host of others are thus the glory of English literature which is echoing with the stinging retorts and parodies and cynical laughter of bygone times.

Sanskrit poetics has not interested itself in the treatment of humour from the point of view of its natural or possible varieties. It has, as we have seen above, rather unintelligently concerned itself, after Bharata, mainly with the stereotyped classification of the act of laughing. Of course, the modern view that the origin of humour lies in the apprehension of an absurd trait or situation, real or imaginary, and the belief in our own selves being above it is, at least by implication, discernible in the definition of *Hāsya* given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[24] And classical Sanskrit literature displays a variety of wit, satire, ridicule and other kinds of humour not excluding gross ribaldry which seems to sound the lowest depth of vulgarity, though, it should be noted, there is a remarkable absence of personal spite and attack so often met with in Western literature. Witness the ready, though vulgar, wit in the following dialogue:

> Viśvabhaṇḍa—(smiling broadly) Tell me Vyādhisindhu, if your father Āturāntaka who has gone to the abode of Death is well or not?

24. VI.49-50.

> Vyādhisindhu—Oh, how could be he happy without seeing you?[25]

Or note the withering sarcasm at hypocrisy in high places in the verse: "Here comes the revered Madanāndhamiśra whose sacred thread has turned red with the liquid unguent applied to the body of a courtesan, whose eyes are sparkling and red on account of drinking an intoxicant, who wears a *Tilaka* mark on the forehead and who has destroyed all obstacles to piety."[26] Or recall the farcical stupidity of Śakāra in his well-known complaint in *Eśā ṇāṇaka-mūśikā* etc. in *Mṛcch.*, I.23.

Although, generally speaking, humour does not enjoy a pre-eminent place in Sanskrit drama, yet it has remained an almost indispensable element in it. Sanskrit drama being for the most part erotic in character, dramatic theory as well as practice has considered the character of Vidūṣaka indispensable in the *Nāṭaka*. It is quite easy to explain the absence of the Vidūṣaka's character in plays like *Veṇisaṁhāra* or *Mudrārākṣasa* the principal sentiment in which is other than erotic. It would also be interesting to pursue the question why, in the *Prakaraṇa* type of drama, *Mālatimādhava* has no Vidūṣaka while *Mṛcchakaṭika* has one. However, the fact remains that in the Naṭaka with a king as the hero, Vidūṣaka, the confidante of the king, is an indispensable character that ministers to the delight and mirth of the audience by his wit and behaviour. Bharata states that the Vidūṣaka should be an ugly hunchback with tawny eyes and uncouth face and roguish.[27] Curiously enough, Bharata does not mention the chief characteristic of the Vidūṣaka, viz., exciting laughter, though later

25. *Hāsyārṇavaprahasana.*
26. *Ibid*, II.5.
27. *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXXV.57.

dramaturgists have considered this to be the one essential quality of this character.[28] The question of the origin of this interesting character has engaged the attention and effort of many scholars who, however, have not yet succeeded in putting forward a universally acceptable solution. It is not possible in this article to enter into a detailed consideration of this question of the origin of the Vidūṣaka. But it may be stated that the employment of an all too transparent nomenclature—Vidūṣaka—meaning a fault-finder or impugner or criticaster is highly significant and it may be an indication that the Vidūṣaka originally represented a character whose business it was to criticise or find fault rather than the conventional one of provoking laughter with his antics. Had the case been otherwise, the designation of the character should have been something like *Prahāsaka*. This fact would further indicate that the origin of the Vidūṣaka is to be sought not in the religious sphere but in social conditions or secular set-up.

The Vidūṣaka portrayed at the hands of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Śrīharṣa is what he is required to be by later dramatic theory—a gluttonous coward, a forgetful fathead—an ape in appearance. But in the hands of the same dramatists we see the other—superior—side of his character also—ready-witted, resourceful and smiling his way to success in his objectives. Through this character humour refracts into its varied and scintillating shades. The pat reply which Maitreya, on being asked by the Ceṭa in which season mango-trees blossom, gave, "Fie, wretch, in summer!;"[29] the cold reply which the Vidūṣaka gave to the king's enquiry regarding where the birch-leaf was, "Alas, it is not here. It has gone—after Urvaśī!";[30]

28. *cf. Daśarūpaka* II.9; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* III.50.
29. *Mṛcch.* V.
30. *Vikramorvaśīya*, II.

the sage remark full of worldly wisdom which the Vidūṣaka makes paronomastically, "yes, thieves and lovers must avoid *candrikā!*"[31]—these would reveal the amplitude of the Vidūṣaka's capacity for humour, grave or gay, subtle or farcical, comic or satirical. Although the Vidūṣaka is the mainspring of humour, yet he is not the only character to regale the audience with puns or funny remarks, foolish prattle or significant nonsense. These masters have themselves used other characters, especially maid-servants, who by their artful ways lure the heroine or the Vidūṣaka himself into unintelligent, if not absurd, situation or behaviour.

However, the most memorable humorous character in Sanskrit drama is Śūdraka's Śakāra. His ignorance, perversity, impudence, cowardice, ambitiousness, meanness etc. have been so cleverly and vividly portrayed by Śūdraka that Śakāra can easily take his place among the great characters of world literature. This swaggering fellow is a citizen of the world and you would be able to recognize him, perhaps, in the third man you meet in the street.

A particular variety of humour, viz., irony—of situation as well as expression—has been well exploited by Sanskrit poets in dramatic as well as non-dramatic form. It has not, however, been always successful in non-dramatic literature in exciting humour. A charming specimen of significant humour spiced with wit and banter arising from irony of situation is provided by the episode of the Celibate and Pārvatī in the fifth canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava*. This episode is imitated by Bhāravi with little success from the point of view of humour, for the element of irony inherent in such a situation is non-existent both in the Indra-Arjuna episode in the twelfth

31. *Mālavik.*, IV.

canto and Kirāta-Arjuna clash in the following ones in the *Kirātārjunīya* As a matter of fact, humour enjoys little importance in *Mahākāvyas* and any promising situation is usually smothered by the weight of scholasticity. Single stanzas have been fruitfully utilized for humorous description and they constitute a not insignificant element in Sanskrit poetry. कस्त्वं शूली मृगय भिषजं... etc., धन्या केयं स्थिता ते शिरसि (*Mudrā.* I-1)—Stanzas like these are highly enjoyable for intentional perversity or deliberate crossness fancied in the amorous relationship of the divine couple of Śiva and Pārvatī. Similarly *Anyoktis* have provided a convenient and effective medium to poets for pouring scorn or ridicule or satire upon greed, miserliness, cruelty, selfishness, hypocrisy, etc. How true the satire of Jagannātha rings of political meetings of modern times in the verse:

युक्तं सभायां खलु मर्कटानां शाखास्तरूणां मृदुलासनानि ।
सुभाषितं चीत्कृतिरातिथेयी दन्तैर्नखाग्रैश्च विपाटितानि ।।
—*Bhāminīvilāsa,* I. 80.

The *Pañcatantra* stories are redolent of humour of a gross, even coarse, type as well as subtle caricature or parody of human idiosyncracies. The romantic adventuresomeness of the carpenter who, having equipped himself with a pair of additional wooden arms, masqueraded as Viṣṇu and stole into a princess's bed-chamber night after night by flying on the back of a mechanically-worked Garuḍa on the one hand and the scornful sarcasm compressed in the advice "Catch hold of my tail!" given by the scheming fox to the foolish elephant pleading for being helped out of the pit on the other represent two extreme poles between which humour ranges in the *Pañcatantra* stories. The author of the *Daśakumāracarita*, too, has revelled in the employment of the none-too-clever trick of making a woman look like an ape by the application of collyrium and other wild sorts of escapades as well as the quaint

conception of the inability of a man to utter labials as his lip was sore with the biting kiss of his beloved![32]

However, humour has got its most legitimate and ample field in social and moral evils in contemporary society which require exposure and eradication. Once earlier writers like Śūdraka and Daṇḍin in their own ways focussed attention on social vices, immorality and religious hypocrisy, it became a vogue with later writers to harp on these themes, with a light touch, if possible. What an amusing picture Śūdraka has drawn of gamblers, their dissensions, abuses and fisticuffs! Daṇḍin has revelled in descriptions of rows, larceny, adultery, magic practices, attempts at poisoning as well as fraudulence of astrologers and palmists, lasciviousness of passionate Brahmins and Vaiśyas and scheming and unholy activities of members of Jain and Buddhistic monastic orders unbecoming to their cloth. Daṇḍin's principal object might have been to write stories redolent of romance but it is undeniable that his stories constitute a bitter satire upon social and religious evils of his times. Although the Paṇḍita Kauśikī of Kālidāsa, Sāṅkṛtyāyanī of Śrīharṣa and Kāmandakī of Bhavabhūti might have been intended to represent these authors' attempts at a happy exemplification of ascetic persons assisting worthwhile activities in the worldly sphere, yet it appears that the real contemporary conditions must have deteriorated to a dangerous extent and provoked Daṇḍin to drag them out into the open and give them an airing! Similarly, the idyllic picture of the institution of the *Veśyā* drawn by Śūdraka must have been far removed from the activities of the time which must have developed into a malignant disease eating into the vitals of the body social and littering society with *Viṭas, Ceṭas, Dhūrtas* and *Ḍiṇḍikas* drawn even from the three upper castes.

32. *Daśakumāracarita,* VII.

The delineation of humour in the Kāvya as well as Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa dramas has on the whole remained decent and even at its worst has not revelled in unredeemed vulgarity or obscenity. Here or there on very rare occasions, for instance, in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (VII) or Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadha-carita* (XVI), we come across cases of breach of good taste, yet Sanskrit drama and Kāvyas on the whole are distinguished by absence of personal malice or vituperation and by decency even while being coarse occasionally in the treatment of humour.

Quite at the opposite pole in regard to the quality of humour, whatever of it is there in them, stand the dramatic types of *Prahasana* and *Bhāṇa*. *Prahasana*, professedly, is a farce. Bharata's definition (*Nāṭyaśāstra* XX.107 ff) requires a *Prahasana* to be full of jocular dialogue at the expense of ascetics, learned Brahmins or members of religious sects; it may even contain characters like dancing girls, rogues, amorous rakes and procuresses and deal with hypocrisy and pretence and quarrels between lewd fellows and rogues. The earlier specimens of Prahasana like *Mattavilāsa, Bhagavadajjukīya*, etc., remain true to definition in so far as satire on representatives of established religious sects and their conventions are concerned. Their humour is coarse and farcical. Sex is not absent in the texture of humour, though, in *Laṭakamelaka* and *Dhūrtasamāgama* it is the main stay of the theme which is exploited for comic purposes. In the *Mattavilāsa* the plot turns upon the accusation of theft against a Buddhist monk brought by a *Kapālin* who is revelling in a drinking bout in the company of his 'lass', the appeal to a *Pāśupata* to intervene and the ultimate recovery of the lost begging bowl from a mad man. The satire on the different sects is direct and biting: e.g., the *Kapālin* says, "Drink wine, see the face of the beloved, put on natural dress—may

that Lord Mahādeva by whom such a path of salvation was laid down live long!"[33] The satire on degenerate practices of contemporary Buddhist monks is even more pungent: Śākyabhikṣu says: "अहो परमकारुणिकेन भगवता तथागतेन प्रासादेषु वासः सुविहितशय्येषु पर्यङ्केषु शयनं...इत्येतैरुपदेशैर्भिक्षुसंघस्यानुग्रहं कुर्वता किंनु खलु स्त्रीपरिग्रहः सुरापानविधानं च न दृष्टम्। अथवा कथं सर्वज्ञ एतन्न पश्यति। अवश्यमेतत् दुष्टबुद्धस्थविरैर्निरुत्साहैरस्माकं तरुणजनानां मत्सरेण पिटकपुस्तकेषु स्त्रीसुरापानविधानानि परामृष्टानीति तर्कयामि। कुत्र नु खलु अविनष्टमूलपाठं समासादयेयम्। ततः संपूर्णं बुद्धवचनं लोके प्रकाशयन् संघोपकारं करिष्यामि।"

Yet the earlier *Prahasanas* are comparatively less erotic than the earlier specimens of Bhāṇa like the plays published under the composite title *Caturbhāṇi*. *Bhāṇa* has been erotic in character from the very beginning though Bharata does not mention any sentiment in the definition of *Bhāṇa* given by him; cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra* XX.111 ff. *Bhāṇa* is a dramatic monologue in which Viṭa or Ceṭa narrates amorous incidents, talks with libidinous rakes about their adventures, describes dancing girls and their ways. The erotic is delineated in a light-hearted manner aided by buffoonery and vulgarity. The atmosphere of the plays of *Caturbhāṇi* reeking with gay libertinism reveals the clay-feet of respectability that masquerades in the garb of ascetics, Pundits, learned Brahmins and rich gentry.

Such as they are, these earlier specimens of *Prahasanas* and *Bhāṇas* do not descend to the depth of unbridled vulgarity and coarseness of similar compositions of later times. Like the earlier ones, the later *Prahasanas* continue to pour ridicule on the degradation of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and other religious sects; but the authors are so bankrupt and perverse in their conception of humour that they cannot think of any other theme but sex and indulge in repulsive grossness. The *Hāsyārṇavaprahasana* carries its typical sting of coarse satire even in the names of cha-

33. *Mattavilāsa*, VII.

racters like King Anayasindhu, physician Vyādhisindhu, etc.; but in theme and its treatment it has plumbed the very depth of degenerate taste. What a stinking description and caricature of the relationship of king, physician, teacher, pupil etc. is given here! We refuse to believe that even in the *Veśyā* institution the position of woman could be so degraded or that man could sink so low in sheer beastly lust.

Looking at these productions, one is taken aback by the perverse taste of society which would make such compositions possible. Such ludicrous attempt at humorous composition only indicate that the real character of humour was not understood by these authors who therefore concentrated on the vulgar and cheap device of exploiting sex and succeeded in producing tasteless compositions. Poverty of creative imagination, like poverty of wealth, turns to sex for creation and tries to redeem itself by pedantic scholarship. Healthy and invigorating humour requires a healthy mental climate. The Indian mind has thrown open its doors for the fresh western breezes to blow in and refresh; the modern Indian literatures have already begun to show signs of vitality and freshness in all aspects including the treatment of humour. There is no reason why, even today, the mansion of Sanskrit should not be ringing with genuine *Hāsya*.

19 SALIENT THEMES IN POST-INDEPENDENCE SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Even if the inclusion of Sanskrit among the living languages of India were originally on sentimental grounds, it is by now fully justified by the quantity and quality of creative works produced in the last twenty years. Sanskrit was never a dead language as Latin, for instance, was; and never will be if one were to take into account the varied and abundant output in the form of poems, plays, playlets, short stories etc. in Sanskrit. Dedicated votaries of Indian culture and the Sanskrit language like Y. Mahalinga Shastri, the late Pandita Kshama Row, Sannidhana S. Shastri, Haridas S. Bhattacharya, V. Raghavan, S. B. Velankar, S. B. Varnekar and a great many others have enriched Sanskrit by their compositions. Apart from original compositions, Sanskrit has gained materially through translations or adaptations of works in modern Indian languages, thereby acquiring new horizons in thought and expression. *Geetāñjali* from Bengali, *Saṅgeeta-Saubhadra*, *Bhrātṛ-Kalahaṃ* etc. from Marathi, *Kalāpūrṇodaya* etc. from Kannada, *Pṛthvīvallabha* etc. from Gujarati—these are but samples of the efforts which help stir the still age-old waters of Sanskrit thought and expression and make it vibrant with the warmth of contemporary life.

Y. Mahalinga Shastri once complained about the posi-

tion of Sanskrit today in the following words: "The language (Sanskrit) is alive to some extent through a succession of poets—born toilers in a desert but is a language of the dead past both to the knowing and the unknowing alike—for, the so-called lovers of Sanskrit today are so lost in their admiration of the Sanskrit that once *was* that they have no patience with the Sanskrit that *is* before their very eyes, struggling in the throes of a renaissance leavened with modernity, for catching their eyes, however much beaten down by their cynical contempt, proud indifference or timorous suspicions. Their efforts are therefore directed more to conserve than to oil the propellers to progress" (Preface, *Ubhayarūpakam*).

Now, in the case of a language like Sanskrit which has remained a cultural language fertilizing and enriching the modern Indian languages for more than a thousand years, this is perhaps inevitable. Mahalinga Shastri has himself drawn upon epic themes for his poems and plays. In *Prati-rājasūyam* (1957) a play in seven acts, he describes Duryodhana's resolve to perform a parallel *Rājasūya* sacrifice after sending the Pāṇḍavas in exile and his attempt to harass the Pāṇḍavas by sending Durvāsas as a guest at an odd hour of the day. In another of his play, *Udgātṛ-daśānana*, the episode of Rāvaṇa lifting the Kailāsa mountain and his discomfiture on being pressed down under its weight by Mahādeva forms the main theme. As a matter of fact, the incidents in the two epics and the abundant mythological material embedded in the *Purāṇas* still offer perennial inspiration to writers in Sanskrit. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇīyam* by P. V. Bokil, *Pārijāta-haraṇa-mahākāvyam* by Sabhapati Dwivedi, *Bhartṛdānam* by Sannidhāna S. Shastri which is based on two Telugu poems (*Pārijātāpaharaṇa* of Mukka Timman (16th century) and *Tulasīdala-mahimā*, *Sāvitrī-caritam* (1961) by O. Atmaramashastri, *Dūtācyutam* (1964?) by Jayanti Pattabhirama are illustrative of the nature and range of the influence of the epic and Puranic material on modern authors. Legion is indeed the number of prayers, apostrophes, glorificatory or dedicatory invocations of gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Śāradā, Ambā, etc. found in periodicals and anthologies of individual authors; full-length poem like *Gaṇeśa-Saṃbhavam* on the pattern of *Kumāra-saṃbhavam* are also met with. Mythological motifs, e.g. introduction of gods and goddesses in a play modern in theme but ancient in spirit are utilized for instance in *Nārī-jāgaraṇam* (1966) of Shri Gopal Shastri for effects of contrast. More appropriate is the employment of mythological characters in *Kailāsa-Kampaḥ* (note the evocative power of the title!), a radio-play by S. B. Velankar dealing with the theme of Chinese aggression in 1962.

Apart from religious and mythological themes, historical personages whose lives or actions symbolize certain basic principles of life and culture of our country have inspired many a creative composition. *Parivartanam* (1962) by H. G. Keskar dramatizes Aśoka's expedition against Kaliṅga, his grief at the terrible carnage, renunciation of war and acceptance of the Buddhist creed of *Ahiṁsā*. In *Cāṇakya-vijayam* (1967), the author Vishveshvara Vidyabhushana attempts to demonstrate the age-old maxim that physical power (*Kṣatriya*) when guided and supported by spiritual strength (*Brāhmaṇa*) leads to the stability and prosperity of a nation. The life and activities of the great Marāthā leader Shivaji have inspired scores of poems besides full-length plays and biographical sketches: even a playwright from Bengal, Haridas Siddhantavagisha Bhattacharya, is inspired to glorify Shivaji in his *Śivājī-Caritam*, a *mahā-nāṭaka* in ten Acts. The same is true of Laxmibai, the Ranee of Jhānsī who is glori-

fied, among others, by P. Gopalakrishnabhatta in his *Jhānsī-Lakṣmī-bāī*, a poem of 255 verses. Incidents from Marāthā history are utilized as themes in *Afajala-mardanam* and *Pratikāra-nāṭakam* both by C. R. Sahasrabuddhe, the former depicting Shivaji's encounter with and murder of Afjal-Khan, Commander of the Bijapur army; the latter describing how Shivaji effected the release of his father Shahji who was imprisoned by Ghorapade 'Baji' of Mudhol and killed Baji. Poets like Kālidāsa and Jagannātha exert a hypnotic influence which finds expression in scores of poems or apostrophes, adaptations of their works or even dramatic presentation of their 'lives'.

Besides, many compositions, metrical or dramatic, deal with significant incidents in the lives of saints like Jñānadeva, Rāmadāsa, Tukāram and Mīrā. Typical of the lives of saints and noteworthy for modernity of thought and social consciousness it reveals is *Nandacaritam* (1964) a poem of 150 stanzas in *Upajāti* metre by Sannidhāna S. Shastri: Nandanār, an untouchable by birth and therefore a social outcast subjected to all the indignities to which members of his community were exposed, was an ardent devotee of Śiva: he ate no meat, drank no wine. He was prevented from entering the shrine of Lord Śiva at Tiruppunagar. Ultimately, Lord Śiva intervenes and blesses the sincere devotion of Nandanār; and the moral is proclaimed: Be he a Brāhmin or an Untouchable by birth, a man is high or low by the way he lives. How, in common with modern Indian languages, Sanskrit, too, is not wanting in efforts at inversion of ancient characters is seen in *Unmatta-kīcakam* (1960), a play by K. S. Nagarajan in which the theme is the old epic incident but Kīcaka is presented in a very favourable light. It has to be noted, however, that this play is based on a Kannada drama *'Kīcaka'* by Tyāgarāja P. S. Kailāsa with whom the transformation of Kīcaka's character has originated.

This broad survey of themes in Sanskrit literature would show that the past is looming large in the minds of our authors. Nevertheless, there is sufficient indication that modern poetic sensibility and sensitiveness is responding to the stimuli of contemporary life in all its aspects, political, social, moral, economic. Pandita Kshama Row's *Satyāgrahagītā* and *Uttarasatyāgrahagītā* attempt to chronicle the non-violent, non-co-operation campaigns of Gandhiji. S. B. Velankar's radio-play *Kailāsa-Kampaḥ* attempts to reflect the shock and dismay of our people at the violation of our northern border by China in 1962. *Jayantu Kumaonīyāḥ*, a play by Mrs. Leela Dayal, presents a *cameo* on the conditions at the time of the aggression by Pakistan in 1965. In fact, author after author is seen to bemoan the loss of our past glory and the present-day abjectness. In *Suṣuptivṛttam*, T. G. Varadacharya is full of anguish at India's dependence on the West and prays to the Lord to help us regain our pristine greatness. Though the keynote of Indian Culture viz., universal love and peace is accepted as the ultimate ideal, yet we as a nation are unsure as to the means of attaining it. In *Bhārata-sandeśa* S. Bharadvaja recalls the message of universal friendliness through peaceful means in a world riven by competition, selfishness, imperialism and military power. Shivasharan Sharma reminds his fellow-countryman that he has inherited Buddha's compassion, Bhīma's strength, Kṛṣṇa's sense of duty, Bhīṣma's resoluteness etc. and exhorts him to rise and regain his place in the world ('Udbodhana' in *Jāgaraṇam*, 1963). Significant for its mood and attitude is *Bhāratīya-Śaurya* (1966) by Vasudev Dviwedi in which the author complains that India has remained passive and apparently peaceful far too long and has suffered at the hands of its enemies on that account. He is happy that for once Lal Bahadur Shastri practised

Tit for Tat against Pakistan. Indeed, he asserts that the policy of *Tit for Tat* is the cardinal ancient Indian policy and cites passages from Vedic, Puranic and other sources in an attempt to support his view. This attitude is symptomatic of the change that is supervening in our national thinking. In fact, the problem of *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence) is exercising our thinkers seriously. In a couple of essays, which are argumentative in character and have little claim to be accepted as 'creative', it is contended that the statement *Ahiṁsā paramo Dharmaḥ* (Non-violence is the highest Dharma) betrays intellectual adolescence; that *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence) is invaluable as an article of religious faith but totally irrelevant and useless in everyday living and more so in politics. In any case, the temper of the present-day writer in Sanskrit, like his counterparts in other modern languages, is positive, activist. This is abundantly shown, for instance, by the poems, biographical sketches, plays etc. composed by way of a tribute to contemporary national leaders in all the fields, political, social, religious, whose lives or activities have contributed to the uplift and regeneration of our motherland. Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lokamanya Tilak, V. D. Savarkar, Swami Dayananda, Swami Vivekananda and, above all, Subhashchandra Bose—these are cherished names: and the trail they have blazed and the missionary dedication with which they betook themselves to the task of national regeneration are gratefully acknowledged. Two events, viz. the attainment of national Independence and the assassination of Gandhiji have moved many a sensitive soul to poetic expression charged with intensity of feeling. While human feelings like love and natural phenomena like spring, sunset, clouds etc. which constitute staple themes for poetic expression continue to fascinate and inspire the contemporary creative writer, a growing interest in the more immediate and pressing facts and facets of life is clearly discernible in him. The awakening of women is welcomed but her westernization is bemoaned, for instance, in *Nārījāgaraṇam* by Gopal Shastri. The tragedy of the modern young man who has received Western education and has as a result developed hatred towards things Indian, especially life and customs in the village, the hardships of the masses aggravated since Independence, corruption in political life and administrative machinery, the capitalist hold on the economic life of the people—these and other similar facts of life today are dealt with in verse or drama with poignancy born of immediacy of experience—with disappointment, anger, anguish, often with the help of satire. *Kaṇṭakāñjali* (1965) is an unusually successful anthology of satirical verses charged with withering scorn or irony over the different aspects of the *malaise* that is gripping our national life. *Kṛṣakāṇām Nāgapāśaḥ*, a short play by Bhagirath Prasad (1958) vividly depicts the distress and helplessness of farmers even under Congress ministries and the solace and hope which they seek and receive personally from Gandhiji. More interesting, however, are the efforts to picture the socio-economic conditions of the masses—the simple village-folk with their social and religious inhibitions, ground down by poverty and yet revealing genuine human qualities of sympathy, selflessness, generosity etc. which make life worthwhile. The short stories of Pandita Kshama Row dealing with the problems of the common man in remote villages of India with his hopes and fears, aspirations and expectations represent a successful handling of the medium of the short story in Sanskrit.

This trend encourages one to feel that Sanskrit which has had a glorious past bids fair to have a glorious future as well.

★

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